

THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY  
OF THE MAHRI NOUN

by

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## A B S T R A C T

The work for this thesis was begun in London, and the material worked on initially was mainly from the field-notes of my supervisor, Professor T. M. Johnstone. This material was later supplemented by my own notes made while working for the Government of Oman in Dhofar, from 1975-1980. The corpus of material on which the thesis is based consists of some three thousand (nominal) forms.

The thesis is divided into two main parts, phonology and morphology.

In the phonology, long vowels, short vowels and diphthongs are discussed; their incidence in patterns; and the variants which can occur in certain phonetic contexts. Stress and syllabication are also discussed, and the section ends with a brief discussion of anaptyxis and elision.

The section on morphology begins with the discussion of patterns of singular tri-radical nominal forms, with and without feminine markers, and discusses the frequency of occurrence of such patterns throughout the sample. The singular patterns are discussed in order of complexity of pattern, viz.: CvCC, CvCvC, CvvCvvC, etc. This is appropriate only with the singular patterns, whose number and variety lend themselves to such treatment. In all other sections, patterns are discussed in order of frequency of occurrence. The section on tri-radical patterns ends with examples of rare singular tri-radical patterns, for which a single example only was attested.

A section on singular and plural quadriliteral (strictly speaking quadri-radical)\* patterns follows, the quadriliteral forms being divided into those with four differing radicals, those with reduplicated geminate radicals, those with reduplicated  $C^2$ , and those with reduplicated  $C^3$ .

The dual is briefly discussed. (The dual is obsolescent in M nominal forms, though occurring freely in verbal forms.)

A section on external plurals follows. While plurals with masculine external suffixes are relatively infrequent, plurals with feminine external suffixes occur freely, both adjectivally, nominally and in participial forms.

The most commonly occurring broken plural patterns are examined next. A section is devoted to illustrating the plural formation where final syllable  $/-eeC/$ ,  $/-iiC/$  in the singular becomes  $/-ooC/$ ,  $/-uuC/$  in the plural - a plural formation which occurs commonly in M, and one which is peculiar to the MSA languages as a whole. Other broken plural patterns are then discussed individually, according to their frequency of occurrence in the sample. The section on plural patterns ends with examples of rare plural patterns, for which a single example only was attested.

\* Since triliteral and quadriliteral forms with  $/m-/$  prefixes are considered separately in the text.

Verbal nouns - which as gerunds, or nouns describing the action of the verb, have no plural - are discussed in a separate section, both those arising from simple verb forms, and those arising from derived verb forms.

/m-/ prefixed singular forms are then discussed (the plurals of such forms being included in the section on broken plural patterns).

The participial patterns are described in a separate section, since they are completely regular and predictable. Those arising from both simple and derived verb forms are illustrated.

The final section covers adjectival patterns, discussed separately from the substantive forms since they are inflected for masculine and feminine as well as singular and plural.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Ar stands for Arabic

M stands for Mahri

J stands for Jibbali

B stands for BaṬḤari

OA stands for Omani Arabic

MSA languages stands for Modern South Arabian languages

ESA stands for Epigraphic South Arabian

m. stands for masculine

f. stands for feminine

s. stands for singular

pl. stands for plural

c. pl. stands for common plural

d. stands for dual (and m.d., f.d. for masculine dual,  
feminine dual)

dim. stands for diminutive

subj. stands for subjunctive

vn. stands for verbal noun

o.a. stands for one another

s.o. stands for someone

s.t. stands for something

: divides singular and plural forms, as /fegiir:fegawret/,  
pipe:pipes

; divides masculine and feminine, as /bexayl;bexaylet/,  
mean, ungenerous

Σ stands for arising from, deriving from

Λ stands for becoming

S stands for Soqotri

SM stands for Southern Mahri

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The work for this thesis was begun in London, and the material on which it is based was initially mainly from the field-notes of my supervisor, Professor T. M. Johnstone. However, while working for the Government of Oman in Dhofar (from 1975 until 1980), I was able to supplement this earlier material on Mahri, and was also able to carry out fairly extensive field-work on other MSA languages: on Jibbālī (mainly the Jibbālī spoken in the eastern sector of the province); on the language of the Baṭāḥira who live round the littoral of the Kuria Muria bay; and on Ḥobyōt, spoken in the Western area of Dhofar. I had less opportunity to work on Harsūsī, as my job rarely took me out of Dhofar as far as the Jiddat al Ḥarāsīs, but I was able to collect and work on a number of texts from Harsūsī patients attending the hospital in Salalah (with which I was connected from 1977-1980), and also to check various points when carrying out a survey for the Ministry of Health in the Jiddat al Ḥarāsīs in 1978. My material on the dialect spoken on the Kuria Muria islands is very limited, but I hope to carry out further work during a visit to these islands scheduled to take place in February of this year. However, comparative material from these other MSA languages is kept to a minimum in the text of the thesis.

The main aim of the thesis is to analyse the patterns of M nominal forms on a synchronic basis, but not to ignore diachronic criteria. The morphology clearly shows that M (and other MSA languages) belong to the Southern Semitic group, and not to the Northern Arabian group. The relation of the MSA languages to ESA is still to be determined, and beyond the scope of the present thesis.

M retains many features of early Semitic: for example the evidence seems to indicate that glottalization is more basic to the Semitic language than had previously been accepted (see T. M. Johnstone, 'Contrasting Articulations in the Modern South Arabian Languages', Hamito-Semitica, Bynon, J. and Bynon, T. (ed.), 1975). M (and the other MSA languages) also preserves the ancient Semitic lateral fricatives /ɬ/ and /ɮ/. Thirdly, M appears to have fossilized nunated forms in the feminine (external) plural, which are elided on suffixation (see 7.25). In verbal forms, the feminine plural forms are the same as the masculine singular, which probably indicates that M had originally the old feminine plural ending with long /aa/. M is unlike J in that series of short vowels do not occur except with the neutral vowel /e/ [ə] (as, for example, M /fəndəloot/, J /fəndolot/, sweet potato). Also, the occurrence of more than one stressed syllable in a form is a common phenomenon in J, but occurs relatively infrequently in M (as M /əDtaalum/, J /əDtelim/, to go (livestock) out to night pasture; M /fəDawli/, J /fəDoli/, scrounger; M /fəraat/, J /fer9ot/, bravery; M /fəduur/, J /fədar/, to outstrip, etc.).

Comparative material from Jahn's<sup>\*</sup> lexicon is occasionally included in the thesis. The number of nominal forms in his M word-list is roughly comparable with the number of nominal forms which comprise the corpus of material on which this study is based, and this has provided some ground for comparison of frequency of occurrence of various forms and patterns in these two dialects. Southern Mahri differs from the

\* JAHN, A., Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien, Texte und Wörterbuch, (Südarabische Expedition, III), Vienna, 1902. (Henceforward referred to as Jahn.)



dialect discussed in this thesis in some important aspects, and for this reason comparisons and contrasts are made only when they seem most relevant.

It is unfruitful to discuss the morphology of M nominal forms without previously discussing the phonology of M. Jahn unfortunately did not do this, and it is therefore impossible to distinguish between which of his vowels have phonological relevance, and which do not, and what his /ii/, /ee/, /oo/, etc. stand for. He did not appreciate the glottalized consonants, having not, apparently, checked the notes of Fresnel\*. Furthermore, his transcriptions are not uniform, which leads to difficulties in analysing his material.

Perhaps the most important aspect arising from the work done for this thesis is the relationship of stress and pattern formation. This relationship can be seen very clearly in the treatment of Arabic words (such as Ar /sabab/ M /sebeeb/, see Phonology 1.106, 2.40). Once the phonology of M is fully worked out, then it should be possible to predict what patterns and forms are likely to be. It seems that the phonology of the verbal system remains to be worked out in detail. M and Ar have been living in symbiosis for some time, and words have been being borrowed from Ar throughout the whole period, and these are Mahrized altogether, or only partially. The difficulties that lie in the way of determining which words are cognate and which borrowed must

\* FRESNEL, F. 'Note sur la langue hhymlarite', JA, series 3, vol. 6, 1838.

be taken into account, but nevertheless, it is important to note that M contains a great many words, and even roots, which do not occur in Ar.

The thesis is divided into two main parts: phonology and morphology.

In the phonology, vowels, long and short, and diphthongs are discussed; their incidence in patterns, and the variants which can occur in certain phonetic contexts. Stress and syllabication are discussed, and a brief examination of anaptyxis and elision close the section on phonology.

In the section on morphology, patterns of nominal forms are examined, and their incidence, and frequency of occurrence throughout the sample discussed. The relationships of singular to plural, masculine to feminine, and affixed to non-affixed forms are discussed, with cross-reference back to the phonological section. The nominal forms are divided into singular - with and without feminine markers -, and plural - external and broken. Quadriliteral (strictly speaking quadriradical, since /m-/ prefixed forms are discussed separately) patterns are treated in a separate section, as are verbal nouns (which as gerunds, or nouns describing the action of the verb, have no plural) and participial patterns (which are completely regular and predictable). Adjectival patterns are examined separately since they are inflected for masculine and feminine as well as singular and plural. The dual (obsolescent in M nominal forms but relatively common in verbal forms) is briefly discussed, and short sections on rare singular and plural patterns (for which a single example only was attested in the sample) are appended to the sections on singular and plural nominal patterns respectively.

The greater number and variety of singular tri-radical nominal patterns has meant that singular patterns are given in the order of complexity of pattern, whereas elsewhere the patterns occur in the order of frequency of occurrence throughout the sample. Singular forms can give rise to more than one plural form, but the number of plural patterns is considerably fewer than the number of singular patterns. In discussion with informants and with Professor Johnstone, it does seem that plural patterns are much more subject to variation in this way than are singular patterns, and this may indicate that plurals occur less frequently than singular forms, and are more idiolectal.

The list of contents gives in full the patterns in the order in which they are discussed.

## A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

Although it can be truthfully said of more than one person that without their (combined) help this thesis would never have been written, I should like here to acknowledge my indebtedness to the two people to whom this cliché most strictly and particularly applies: to my supervisor, Professor T. M. Johnstone, as much for his practical help and advice as for his constant encouragement; and to my husband, for his unfailing patience and forbearance, and for his steady support - taking the practical form of cheerful assistance with household chores and looking after children to enable me to pursue other work.

TABLE (1)

## THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

	PLOSIVE	FRICATIVE	GLOTTALIZED	NASAL	LIQUID
LABIAL AND  LABIO DENTAL	b	w  f		m	
DENTAL-ALVEOLAR	t d	<u>t</u> <u>d</u>  s z	T D  S		l  r
PALATO-ALVEOLAR		ʃ	ʃ̥	n	
LATERAL		ɬ ɮ			
PALATAL		y			
VELAR	k g	x G	K		
PHARYNGAL		H ʕ			
GLOTTAL	ʔ	h			

T Y P E S C R I P T   C O N V E N T I O N SConsonants

The normal usage of the transcription of Semitic languages is used, with the following differences:-

/ʕ/ represents a voiceless glottal plosive consonant

(usually written / ʕ / )

/ʁ/ represents a voiced pharyngeal fricative consonant

(usually written / ʁ / )

/Ḍ/ represents a partially voiced glottalized denti-alveolar consonant

(usually written / Ḍ / )

/Ġ/ represents a voiced velar fricative consonant

(usually written / Ġ / )

/Ḥ/ represents a voiceless pharyngeal fricative consonant

(usually written / Ḥ / )

/K/ represents a voiceless glottalized velar consonant

(usually written / K / )

/Ṣ/ represents a partially voiced glottalized palato-alveolar consonant

(usually written / Ṣ / )

/ʃ/ represents a voiceless lateral fricative consonant

/ʂ/ represents a voiceless palato-velar fricative consonant  
(usually written /ʃ/ )

/T/ represents a voiceless glottalized denti-alveolar consonant  
(usually written /t/ )

/x/ represents a voiceless velar fricative consonant  
(usually written /h/ )

/ʒ/ represents a voiced lateral fricative consonant

/ʂ/ represents a voiceless glottalized palato-alveolar consonant  
(usually written /ʃ/ )

### Vowels

The five long vowels are represented as follows:-

/aa/

/ee/

/ii/

/oo/

/uu/

The diphthongs are represented as follows:-

/ay/      /aay/

/aw/      /aaw/

/ey/      /eey/

/ew/      /eew/

/iiw/

/iiy/

/oow/

/ooy/

/uuw/

/uuy/

The two short vowels are represented as follows:-

/a/

/e/

In addition:

/v/    stands for vowel

/C/    stands for consonant

Stress is marked with the sign / ' / on the vowel of the stressed syllable



1. PHONOLOGY

1. PHONOLOGY1.1 LONG VOWELS

The long vowels of M are shown diagrammatically below:-

TABLE (II)

---

ii	uu
ee	oo
aa	

---

1.2 The long vowel /aa/

The long vowel /aa/ occurs relatively infrequently (in comparison with /ee/), and then following the glottalized, guttural and pharyngeal consonants, and in some circumstances following /r/, /l/, /n/, and /ʒ/, as a conditioned variant of /ee/.

1.3 Where the form begins with a consonant + short vowel, and the first radical is an original voiced pharyngeal, /aa/ occurs in place of the short vowel /a/ of the base pattern, as:-

Nominal forms

/6aaDemiiit/      back (contrast /nehemiiit/, eagle)

/6aafš/	baggage (contrast Ar /9afš/)
/6aaKd/	knot, contract (contrast /šarT/, condition)
/6aamK/	middle (contrast /xanK/, silver necklace)
/6aanšeet/	spider (contrast Ar /9ankabuut/)
/6aardeeb/	back of the neck (contrast /nekfeef/, scab)
/6aarf/	'arf leaves (contrast /xarf/, monsoon rains)
/6aarK/	vein, artery (contrast /farK/, flock)
/6aarž/	breadth (contrast /farž/, best dates)
/6aaSer/	night (contrast /beeder, a-badr-, seed)
/6aašrayn/	twenty (contrast Ar /9išriin/)
/6aayb/	breaking of a sworn agreement (contrast /SayH/, desert)
/6aayd/	sardines (contrast /KayD/, knot, rope)
/6aayn/	eye (contrast /dayn/, debt)

#### Verbal forms

/6aabuud/	to worship (contrast /hebuud/, to crouch behind)
/6aabuul/	to tend (contrast /hebuul/, to spread out)
/6aaduul/	to raise (contrast /heduur/, to jump for joy)
/6aaguun/	to knead (contrast /heguum/, to attack)
/6aaguuz/	to despair (contrast /heguus/, to ponder)
/6aakuur/	to run as fast as possible (contrast /mekuur/, to store milk for butter)
/6aakuus/	to mix (contrast /mekuus/, to incite)

/6aaluuf/	to look after (contrast /Heluub/, to milk)
/6aayuub/	to break an oath (contrast /seyuur/, to go)
/6aawe <u>e</u> d/	to warn (contrast /abdeed/, to separate)
/6aaweeg/	to divert (contrast /adweer/, to coil)
/haad <u>o</u> m/	to remove (contrast /hebdo <u>o</u> l/, to recuperate)
/haaloo <u>K</u> /	to kindle (contrast /hedloo <u>l</u> /, to inform, direct)
/haatoo <u>m</u> /	to spend the night (contrast /hedhoo <u>m</u> /, to sleep with a child in the bed)
/6aaddel/	to grow up (contrast /bad <u>d</u> er/, to outstrip)
/6aatgem/	to be blocked (contrast /fat <u>g</u> er/, to be holed)
/6aatkes/	to be mixed (contrast /wat <u>K</u> eD/, to wake)
/6aateKaw <u>d</u> /	to believe (contrast /enteKaw <u>l</u> /, to choose)
/6aateluum/	to learn (contrast /e <u>K</u> tenuum/, to gather fodder)
/6aatewuur/	to be sore (contrast /ektewuur/, to change towards)
/6aateyuun/	to spy on (contrast /Getyuur/, to change)

/ʒaabuʀ/	to consider something (contrast /ʒexbuʀ/, to ask)
/ʒaafuu/	to recover (contrast /ʒehlui/, to catch cold)
/ʒaakawʀ/	to consider something, someone larger (contrast /ʒebxawʀ/, to be critical of a friend)

- 1.4 Compare with initial glottalized and other pharyngeal consonants:-

/DaaHem/	urine (compare /keeHel/, antimony)
/Gaadel/	big load (contrast /geedel/, foot)
/Haagel/	eyebrow (contrast /neeGel/, bastard)
/Kaader/	pot (contrast /keetʀ/, much, amount)
/KaaSer/	upper storey room (contrast /keeseb/, acquisition)
/SaaHer/	brand (contrast /seeHer/, warlock)
/Taafel/	child (compare /feeHel/, penis)
/xaamer/	wine (compare /heexer/, old man)

- 1.5 The long vowel /aa/ frequently occurs in the conditioned feminine ending /-aat/, corresponding to the /-eet/ in other forms. Thus:-

/geʒaat/	belch (/gʒ9/) (cf. /kesweet/, clothing)
/meHSaat/	shallow well (cf. /semreet/, deafening noise)
/reKaat/	patch, rag (/rK9/) (cf. /leGweet/, nonsense)
/ʒerGaat/	physical desire (cf. /xedmeet/, work, job)

/xewKaat/	mole, pimple (/xlK/) (cf. /berkeet/, pool)
/zerTaat/	breaking wind (cf. /tenteet/, plant name)

- 1.6                      However, /-eet/ may also occur following /r/, and is the more usual feminine ending in words with final radical /l/.

Contrast:-

/Hežeraat/	greenness (but /bezereet/, good health)
/meGeraat/	frankincense tree (but /meßeGereet/, second <u>F.S.</u> )
/neSelaat/	sword blade (but /beSeleet/, onion)

- 1.7                      And with final /n/, contrast:-

/Geženaat/	compassion (and /leseneet/, point off a sword)
------------	--

- 1.8                      However, where the radical /r/ is geminate, /aa/ occurs to the exclusions of /ee/, as:-

/derraat/	short (compare /delleet/, coffee pot)
/ferraat/	unripe fruit (compare the plural form /fereer/)
/merraat/	gallbladder; courage (compare /Gebbeet/, deep sea)
/šerraat/	spark (compare /Helleet/, dry leaf)

- 1.9                      Conditioned long vowel /aa/ occurs otherwise sporadically following radical /r/. Some further examples are given below:-

/meGraab/	evening; west
/xeTraaK/	stick
/zeraar/	button

- 1.10 Long vowel /aa/ also occurs in place of an original /l/ radical in a closed syllable preceded by a short vowel. Thus:-

/Haam/	dream (pl. /Helawm/)
/HeSaaten/	stones, pebbles (s. /HeSeleet/)
/SeGaafeet/	leaf (/SGlf/)
/xewaaten/	aunts, mothers-in-law (s. /xeloot/)

(See 1.104 below)

- 1.11 The vowel following /ʒ/, but not /ʃ/, is invariably /aa/ and not /ee/. Thus:-

/ferʒaat/	harbour (contrast /ferʃeet/, opening in a wadi)
/Kerʒaat/	loan (contrast /Kesmeet/, a gift for a child)
/neeʒaaf/	bedding (contrast /niideex/, (incense) smoke)
/reHeʒaat/	menstruation (contrast /regezeet/, poem, song)
/ʒaagem/	cheek (contrast /ʃeed <u>e</u> r/, stiff necked)

1.12

There are a few examples of monosyllables of the pattern /Caa/, in which the long vowel /aa/ occurs other than in the contiguity of glottalized and guttural consonants. Thus:-

/maa/	what
/taa/	up to, until, so that, then when
/waa/	(the first element in certain fixed expressions, meaning "indeed!")



1.13

The long vowels /ee/ and /ii/

These two long vowels are phonetically very close. The criteria for distinguishing them are complex. However, it is possible to distinguish them by the fact that on affixation they are realised differently. Minimal pairs can thus be distinguished, as:-

	/genbeet/	side (of the body)
gives	/agenbeeti, agenbath/	my, his side
and	/genbiit/	camel which has refused its calf
gives	/agenbayti, agenbeth/	my, his camel which has refused its calf
	/Hebeleet/	umbilical cord
gives	/Hebeleeti, Hebelath/	my, his umbilical cord
and	/Hebeliit/	pod of the <u>Heroož</u> bush
gives	/Hebelayti, Hebeleth/	my, his pod of the <u>Heroož</u> bush

It can be shown that this process is completely regular, and that /ii/ regularly relates to /ay/ in open syllables, and to /e/ in closed syllables. Similarly, it can be shown that /ee/ (of close quality) regularly relates to (a slightly opener) /ee/ in open syllables, and to /a/ in closed syllables.

1.14

Long vowel /ee/

Long vowel /ee/ is related to an original /a/, the /a/ being explicit in suffixed forms. Thus:-

/beed <u>e</u> r, ab <u>a</u> dri/	a, my seed
/geez <u>e</u> l, agaz <u>a</u> li/	a, my big rock
/gees <u>e</u> r, aga <u>a</u> ri/	coarsely ground flour, my coarsely ground flour
/kee <u>D</u> e, ka <u>D</u> ri/	a, my knot
/ne <u>e</u> d <u>e</u> r, an <u>a</u> dri/	a, my vow
/regge <u>e</u> t, regga <u>t</u> h/	bang, its bang, noise
/re <u>m</u> le <u>e</u> t, re <u>m</u> la <u>t</u> h/	sand, his sand
/me <u>r</u> te <u>b</u> ee <u>t</u> , me <u>r</u> te <u>b</u> a <u>t</u> h/	place, his place
/se <u>b</u> e <u>k</u> ee <u>t</u> , se <u>b</u> e <u>k</u> a <u>t</u> h/	net, his net
/se <u>e</u> ke <u>l</u> , sa <u>k</u> li/	a, my twin
/te <u>n</u> te <u>e</u> t, te <u>n</u> ta <u>t</u> h/	bush, his bush
/me <u>t</u> enye <u>e</u> t, me <u>t</u> enya <u>t</u> h/	tooth, his tooth
/we <u>b</u> e <u>l</u> ee <u>t</u> , we <u>b</u> ela <u>t</u> h/	plant, his plant
/xe <u>d</u> me <u>e</u> t, xe <u>d</u> ma <u>t</u> h/	work, his work

1.15      Long vowel /ii/

Long vowel /ii/ frequently occurs in an initial syllable where the following syllable also has a long vowel. In these cases, it seems to be related to an earlier original /ii/ or /i/. Thus:-

/fiiKaa/	covering
/giidoor/	cairn, wall
/HiibooT/	swelling
/riigeem/	cover, lid
/ʒiiraa/	navel
/ʒiiwooT/	fire

1.16      Elsewhere, /ii/ occurs in the feminine marker /-iit/, and, more rarely, in forms of the pattern /CvCiic/, though this long /ii/ vowel is more usually realised as /ay/ in M. (See Diphthongs 1.35)

1.17      /ii/ also commonly occurs in active participial forms of the pattern /CeCCiita/, as:-

/Kefdiita/ from /Kefuud/    to go down  
etc,

(See the section on participial forms, 12 ff.)

1.18      Long vowel /ii/ also occurs in ~~passive~~ participial forms of the pattern /meCCiic/, as:-

/meKbiis/ from /KebuuS/    to sting, bite  
etc.

(See the section on participial forms, 12 ff.)

1.19      The long vowels /oo/ and /uu/

As with long vowels /ee/ and /ii/, these two vowels are phonetically very close. The criteria for distinguishing between them are the same as those for distinguishing between the other pair of long vowels discussed above, namely that on affixation, /oo/ and /uu/ are realised differently. Thus:-

	/feGerwoot/	the hollow beneath the Adam's apple
gives	/feGerwooti, feGerwath/	my, his hollow beneath the Adam's apple
but	/Gegenuut/	girl
gives	/Gegenawti, Gegeneth/	my, his girl

1.20      Long vowel /oo/

/oo/ occurs in monosyllables where the medial radical is /6/, /9/, /w/ (but not /y/), and in some forms with geminate radicals.

1.21      Roots with a medial glottal stop cannot easily be distinguished from roots with a medial /w/. Thus:-

Medial /6/	/fool/	omen (/f6l/)
	/foos/	axe (/f6s/)
	/ʕool/	to demand payment of a debt (/ʕ6l/)
Medial /w/	/boob/	a door (/bwb/)
	/Hool/	condition (/Hwl/)
	/loom/	to look forward to something (/lwm/)

/moot/	to die (/mwt/)
/noob/	big (/nwb/)

1.22 Compare also with a medial voiced pharyngal:-

Medial /9/	/foor/	young bull (/f9r/)
	/woon/	conjunctivitis (/w9n/)

1.23 With geminate radicals compare:-

/Goob/	excreta (/Gbb/)
/ʒoob/	a monitor lizard (/ʒbb/)

1.24 With medial /l/ and /r/, (elided in the singular),  
compare:-

/koob:keloob/	wolf:wolves
/Koon:Keroon/	horn:hornes

1.25 /oo/, however, occurs freely in all positions in forms,  
and /-oot/ functions as a feminine singular marker of nominal forms.

1.26 Like /ee/, /oo/ is to be related to an original /a/,  
and less frequently to an original long /aa/. Thus:-

/aboodel/	to change (compare Ar /baddal/ and /baadal/)
/Hookem/	ruler (compare Ar /Haakim/)
/soofer/	to travel (compare Ar /saafer/, but this pattern also relates to the Ar pattern /fa99al/)
/siiroona/	(he) will go

1.27

Long vowel /uu/

Most words borrowed from Ar with an original /uu/  
replace this long vowel by /aw/, as:-

/6aagawz/	old woman (compare Ar /9ajuuz/)
/6aamawd/	ceiling beam (compare Ar /9amuud/)
/maarawf/	favour (compare Ar /ma9ruuf/)
/bawk/	book (compare OA /buuk/)
/neeDawr/	gun sight (compare Ar /naazuur/, field glasses)
/saybawn/	soap (compare Ar /saabuun/)
/tennawr/	oven (compare Ar /tannuur/)
/meTlawb/	aim, desire (compare Ar /maTluub/)

1.28

/-uut/ occurs as a singular feminine marker, as:-

/gemgemuut/	skull
/giireemuut/	<u>dom</u> fruit
/Gemelluut/	rain cloud
/hedduut/	cradle
/rebbuut/	groin
/rexemuut/	Egyptian vulture
/sebh uut/	likeness
/Teliifuut/	skin on boiled milk

1.29 The Diphthongs

The diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ occur independently, and are also allophones of /uu/ and /ii/ respectively. They occur in open syllables corresponding to /uu/ and /ii/ in final closed syllables: thus - /-uut/, /-awti/, and /-iit/, /-ayti/. Some examples are given below:-

/-uut/ and /-awti/

/medfenuut, amedfenawti/	cache, my cache
/gerdefuut, agerdefawti/	small lizard, my small lizard
/GerGeruut, aGerGerawti/	bubble, my bubble
/HelKemuut, HelKemawti/	Adam's apple, my Adam's apple
/Henžebuut, Henžebawti/	bead, my bead
/meHzemuut, ameHzemawti/	waist, my waist
/kenemuut, kenemawti/	louse, my louse
/keršeduut, keršedawti/	knobbed club, my knobbed club
/Ke9yuut, aKe9yawti/	earth demon, my earth demon
/KeTtebuut, aKeTtebawti/	carved doll, my carved doll
/rebtuut, arebtawti/	foam on milk, my foam on milk

/-iit/ and /-ayti/

/6aateriit, 6aaterayti/	milk-skin, my milk-skin
/degeriit, adegerayti/	bean, my bean
/Hebeliit, Hebelayti/	fruit of the <u>Heroož</u> bush, my fruit of the <u>Heroož</u> bush

/meHeK(e)biit, ameHeK(e)bayti/	camel girth, my camel-girth
/Kebiit, aKebayti/	stomach, my stomach (single stomach of an animal with more than one stomach)
/kelyiit, kelyayti/	kidney, my kidney
/Keniiit, aKenayti/	spear, my spear
/SeHliit, aSeHlayti/	basin, my basin
/šegeriit, šegerayti/	mountain pass, my mountain pass
/teferiit, teferayti/	camel dung, my camel dung
/ṭiiwiit, ṭiiwayti/	sheep, my sheep
/xemliit, xemlayti/	bug, my bug

- 1.30                   The diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ also occur in place of /ii/ and /uu/ respectively following the guttural consonants and the glottalized consonants; less regularly after /l/ and /r/; as a replacement of /uu/ and /ii/ in forms borrowed from Ar; and in some cases (as in the adjectival pattern /CeCiiC/, /CeCayC/, and the nisbah suffix) without specific contextual conditioning, but certainly (since the equivalent element in the plural is /-ooʔ/, /-ooy/ from earlier /-ayy/.)

1.31

/ay/

After guttural and glottalized consonants:-

/ʕayKed/	to tie knots, cast a spell (cf. /giilew/, to have a fever)
/ʕayri/	tom cat (cf. /beedi/, a lie)
/biidDayt/	egg (cf. /Hedgiit/, ball of dates)



/Dayma/	to be thirsty (cf. / <u>d</u> iiker/, to mention)
/Dayres/	on her (cf. /Daar/, on)
/gebHayt/	blunt ( <u>f.s.</u> ) (cf. /ged <u>m</u> iit/, lopped; leprous ( <u>f.s.</u> ))
/meGay <u>t</u> el/	uncleaned guts (cf. /me <u>š</u> iiger/, second)
/Gaywer/	to be careless (cf. /kiiwer/, to love)
/HedHayd/	sand dune (cf. /degdiig/, kind of grasshopper)
/Haywel/	to go mad (cf. /hiiger/, to be hot at midday)
/Kaybel/	to be acceptable (contrast /kii <u>t</u> ew/ (twilight) to come)
/refxayt/	animal whose milk comes easily (cf. /regliit/, noose)
/SayleH/	to be fat (cf. /siileb/, to wait)
/SayGet/	jewelry (cf. /seeTel/, bucket)
/Tayf/	aloes (cf. / <u>š</u> iit/, backside)
/Tayn/	clay, soil (cf. Ar /Tiin/)
/xayben/	well, indeed
/xaylef/	to follow (cf. /kiifel/, to be a guarantor)
/xaymeh/	five (contrast /riiba/, four days (/rb9/))
/xiiTayt/	thread (cf. /KeTfiit/, marker-snip cut from the ear)

1.32

/ay/ occurs in place of /ii/ after /z/, as:-

/Herzayt/	<u>salam</u> tree (cf. /lezeet/, influenza)
/zaybeT/ (better /z <u>a</u> aT/)	to take (cf. /zeeben/, power, protection)
/zayga/	cave (but plural /ziigaa/)
/zayKet/	narrow, cramped ( <u>f.s.</u> ) (cf. /liinet/ soft ( <u>f.s.</u> ))

1.33

/aw/

After glottalized and guttural consonants:-

/6aaKawr/	to grow up (/9Kr/) (cf. /6aamuur/, to say)
/bawl/	owners (/b9l/) (cf. /boob/, door (/bwb/))
/ʒebawl/	to be owned (/b9l/) (cf. /ʒaaguul/, to hasten (/9gl/))
/ʒebxawl/	to criticise (cf. /ʒebduun/, to become healthier)
/feSawl/	to mediate (cf. /feyuul/, to be safe)
/feTTawm/	to recollect (cf. /Hessoon/, to get better)
/fawm/	legs (/f9m/) (cf. /fool/, omen (/f6l/))
/hegawr/	to cause to fall (/g9r/) (cf. /heGboor/, to give help)
/GeTTawt/	she choked (cf. /sebbuut/, she abused)
/yeGTawT/	he chokes (cf. /yesbuub/, he abuses)
/herKawten/	about to steal ( <u>c. pl.</u> participle) (cf. /Kefduuten/, about to go down ( <u>c. pl.</u> participle))
/Hawm/	fathers-in-law (/Hm/) (cf. /loob/, indeed!)
/HeDawD/	shares (cf. /Geyuug/, men)
/kawr/	to roll (/k9r/) (but compare /gaar/, to fall (/g9r/))
/ewteGawt/	she killed (cf. /ewbeduut/, she hit)
/neGawl/	bastards (cf. /xeboor/, news)
/henGawm/	to anger (cf. /herhoon/, to leave as a pledge)
/ʒenHawr/	to complain (cf. /ʒeghuum/, to come in the early morning)

/neTtawten/	about to shiver ( <u>c. pl.</u> participle) (cf. /delluuten/, about to direct ( <u>c. pl.</u> participle))
/herxawS/	to give someone leave (cf. /hergoof/, to shiver)
/škawŋ/	thorns (/šk9/) (cf. /guuruun/, neighbours)
/tawb/	to cause to cough (/t9b/) (cf. /frook/, to recover from a fever)
/Tawba/	to drink bending down (cf. /tooba/, to follow)
/TawreH/	to allow, let (cf. /toob/, to repent)
/xawl/	maternal uncles (cf. /soox/, big ( <u>m.</u> ))

1.34

After /l/ and /r/, /ay/ and /aw/ occur sporadically,  
more frequently than in other phonetic contexts, but still irreg-  
ularly. Thus:-

/deGrayr/	point, summit (but contrast /deGšiiš/, edge, cliff)
/Helawl/	times; periods (contrast /seloob/, weapons)
/šeKrawH/	to get one's hair cut (but contrast /šekruuf/, to sniff around)
/heKrawr/	to go, be, at midday (contrast /hebrook/, to make kneel)
/heKrawž/	to borrow (contrast /hemrook/, to stick through)
/laylet/	night (but also /liilet/)
/rayži/	to be acceptable (contrast /riibet/, to eat cream, foam (of milk))
/šeTrayr/	rain pool (but contrast /nexriir/, nostril)
/heTlawK/	to give an animal its head (but /tlook/, to lead a camel by a rope)

1.35 Original Ar /ii/ is realised as /ay/ in M. Thus:-

/dayn/	debt (cf. Ar /diin/)
/hayb/	crowbar (cf. OA /hiib/)
/kefayl/	sponsor (cf. Ar /kafiil/)
/layf/	coconut fibre (cf. OA /liif/)
/mayt/	when (cf. OA /miit/)
/wekayl/	agent (cf. Ar /wakiil/)

1.36 Compare also the following M forms not borrowed from Ar:-

/bay/	against me
/le-sayb/	towards
/layn/	against us
/rayK/ (l-a-)	without breakfast (cf. J /l- <sup>1</sup> eriK/)
/rayS/	broad leafed water plant (cf. J /ri <sup>1</sup> S/)
/ṣayn/	with us

1.37 Original Ar /uu/ is realised usually as /aw/ in forms borrowed from Ar, as:-

/hawri/	<sup>u</sup> dig-out canoe (cf. OA /huuri/)
/Hawt/	large fish (cf. OA /Huut/)
/kawreh/	ball (cf. OA /kuura/)
/lawmi/	lime (cf. OA /luumi/)
/rawH/	spirit (cf. Ar /ruuH/)

- 1.38 Some examples of forms with the nisbah suffix /-ay/ are given below:-

/6aamKay/	middling, medium
/6ensay/	human
/6aazebay/	unmarried ( <u>m.s.</u> )
/mehrāy/	Mahri

- 1.39 In verbal nouns of the simple verb of the pattern /CayCeC/, and in verbal nouns of the intensive/conative verbs which have the pattern /teCCayC/ (and its variant /tCeCayC/), the diphthong /ay/ occurs irrespective of the phonetic context. Thus:-

/fayger/	taking a lying oath
/laybed/	hitting
/tewdayb/	correcting
/telwaym/	blaming
/raykeb/	riding

(See the section on verbal noun forms , 10.3)

- 1.40 /ay/ occurs as the characteristic vowel of certain verbs with a final weak radical, possibly to compensate for the loss of a final /i/. Thus:-

/benuu, yebayn/	to build, he builds
/rewuu, yerayw/	to recite, he recites

/ʕedruu, yeʕdayr/      to get to the top, he gets to the top

/ʕewzuu, yeʕwayz/      to bend back over something, he bends back

- 1.41      /aw/ occurs as the marker of plurality in the third person masculine of the simple verb, as:-

/ketuub, ketawb/      he, they wrote

/ewbuud, ewbawd/      he, they hit

/meruuD, merawD/      he, they gave instructions

/nebuut, nebawt/      he, they dug up

/rebuuʕ, rebawʕ/      he, they disturbed

/sekuub, sekawb/      he, they poured

- 1.42      In disyllabic forms with final /w/ and /y/, the diphthong /ay/ occurs frequently, but not invariably, in place of /ii/, as:-

/bayKi/      to remain

/dayri/      to bleed

/taywi/      meat (but contrast /tiiday/, breasts)

- 1.43      /aw/ also occurs in open syllables in certain forms to the exclusion of /uu/. Thus:-

/mefawSel/      joints

/gemawgem/      skulls

/gennawni/      jinnis

/Hedawded/      iron tools

/menawger/	bracelets
/merawKeS/	crutches
/sawr/	advice

- 1.44                Patterns, however, in which /oo/ is an element, do not admit the /aw/ allophone. Thus with only one exception, the vowel of the intensive/conative derived verb of the pattern /aCooCeC/ has only /oo/, the exception being /aGawmeS/, to hide one's face (but /aGoomed/, to sheathe a sword, etc.).

SHORT VOWELS1.45 The short vowel /a/

The short vowel /a/ occurs in unstressed syllables in limited circumstances only.

1.46 In an initial syllable, though strictly speaking preceded by a glottal stop, the prefix /a-/ denotes the definite article, or the prefix of the intensive/conative pattern of the verb. In final position, the unstressed suffix /-a/, and /-aC/, are the markers for certain forms of verbs with final /9/ (see 1.49 and 1.110 ff.)

1.47 It should be noted that this /a-/ prefix (whether nominal or verbal) does not occur before voiceless consonants.\*

Some examples illustrating the above points are given below:-

## 1.48 Initial unstressed /a/

/((6)aboodel/	to change
/bayt,(6)abayt/	a house, the house

\* See T. M. Johnstone "A Definite Article in the Modern South Arabian Languages", B.S.O.A.S. xxxiii, 2, 1970, pps. 295-307.



/gaad,(6)agaad/	a skin, the skin
/Goožeb,(6)aGoožeb/	a bull, the bull
/((6)aroodef/	to mount s.o. behind one (on a camel)
/((6)areHmoon/	God
/((6)azyeen/	to beautify
/((6)ažyeef/	to give a wedding feast

Final unstressed /a/

- 1.49 Final short /-a(C)/ may occur in forms with a final guttural consonant which show regression of stress, as for example:-

/adooma/	to weep (/dm9/) (compare /aDoolem/, to take camels out at night)
/ʒegaasa/	to belch (compare /ʒegeedeH/, to look for flotsam and jetsam)
/heema/	to hear (/hm9/) (compare /remuus/, to chat at night)
/hayma/	hearing
/Kaama/ (baaleet a-)	flintlock
/Kayša/	dry (m.s.) (/Kš9/)
/enKayTa/	to be cut; to be thirsty (/KT9/)
/meKtooTa/	very thirsty
/meema/	brain (/m9m9/)
/entooga/	to eat and drink simultaneously (compare /eftekuur/, to wonder, keep thinking about s,t.)
/nakak/	I came
/nooka/	to come (/nk9/) (compare /ketuub/, to write)
/yenooka/	he comes (compare /yekooteb/, he writes)

- 1.50 In all other circumstances /a/ occurs only in stressed closed syllables, often relating to /ee/ or /oo/ in open syllables, or to final /-oot/, /-eet/ syllables. Thus:-

/6aaKebboot, 6aaKebbath/	a (kind of) tree, his tree
/maaʒebeet, amaaʒebath/	a cut, his cut
/((6)abadri/	my seed (but /beeder/, a seed)
/bark/	knee
/beSeleet, abeSelath/	an onion, his onion
/foos, fash/	an axe, his axe
/feGerwoot, feGerwath/	hollow beneath the Adam's apple, his hollow beneath the Adam's apple
/fenxereet, fenxerath/	nostril, his nostril
/fasx/	to undress (compare /soobex, to waste talk)
/Heloot, Helath/	description, his description
/kebbet, kebbath/	cholera, his cholera
/KamHet/	bad (f.s.) (from /KoomeH/, bad (m.s.))
/menwoot, amenwath/	dark rain cloud; his, its dark rain cloud
/riiHamten/	beautiful (f. pl.) (compare /riiHoom/ (m. pl.))
/safrek/	I travelled (from /soofer/, to travel)
/Saffyet/	pure (f.s.) (from /Soofi/, pure (m.s.))
/yewazmen/	they give (compare /yewoozen/, he gives)
/xiifaften/	light (f. pl.) (compare /xiifoof/ light (m. pl.))

1.51

A few personal suffixes with plural nouns have final

/-a/ (probably unstressed /-aa/) irrespective of phonetic context.

Thus:-

/hebaarha/	his camels
/hebaarsa/	her camels
/hebaarka/	your (m.s.) camels
/hebaarSa/	your (f.s.) camels
/hebaarya/	my camels

1.52 The short vowel /e/

The short vowel /e/ occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables.

1.53 In closed final syllables of suffixed forms, stressed /e/ corresponds to final /iiC/, /iit/, /uuC/, /uut/, as:-

/6aagzuun, 6aagzen <sup>h</sup> ha/	a group of old women, his group of old women
/6aaKebiit, 6aaKebeth <sup>h</sup> /	a large bird, his large bird
/Kedhuut, Kedheth <sup>h</sup> /	a tree, his tree (kind of tree whose resin is used as a depilatory)
/Kešniit, Kešneth <sup>h</sup> /	a thicket, his thicket
/KeTfiif, KeTfefh <sup>h</sup> /	a feather, his feather
/Ka6yuut, Ka6yeth <sup>h</sup> /	a female earth spirit, his female earth spirit
/ewbeniit, ewbeneth <sup>h</sup> /	whiteness, his whiteness
/nehemiiit, anehemeth <sup>h</sup> /	an eagle, his eagle
/nekfiif, ankefefh <sup>h</sup> /	a scab, his scab
/rebtuut, arebteth <sup>h</sup> /	foam, his foam

1.54 In monosyllabic forms, stressed /e/ occurs mainly in certain suffixed noun and verb forms, and in forms borrowed from Ar, as:-

/bayt, abeth <sup>h</sup> /	a house, his house
-----------------------------	--------------------

/gel/	to glow
/kawt, aketh/	coat, his coat
/Kel/	to spill, pour
/seb/	to abuse

1.55 Compare also:-

/dellek/	I knew (a road)
/ferreß/	you flew (f.s.)
/ewbedk/	I hit (/lbd/)
/ewbedets/	she hit him (/lbd/)
/tebrem/	they were broken

1.56 Stressed /e/ occurs also in certain less frequent patterns of verb, such as:-

/fesx/	to dash away
/kefx/	to slap
/netk/	to bite

(See also 1.110 ff.)

1.57 Stressed /e/ occurs frequently in polysyllabic-verbal forms, as for example:-

/yaateks/	he, it may be mixed (subj.)
/yebteddem/	they separate (subj.)
/yetteK/	he may drink (subj.)

1.58                    Short vowel /e/ occurs otherwise in unstressed syllables,  
except as defined above (see 1.53 ff. ).    Thus:-

/ketuub/

he wrote (which would seem to  
relate to earlier /kataba/)

AND

they (f. pl.) wrote (which would  
seem to relate to earlier /katabaa/)

/ketebuut/

she wrote (which would seem to  
relate to earlier /katabât/)

1.57

THE GLOTTAL STOP

An initial /6/ radical is frequently realised as /ø/ or /y/. Thus:-

- |      |     |          |  |
|------|-----|----------|--|
| 1.60 | /w/ | /welayf/ | companion  |
|      |     | /woorem/ | road (with the def. art. /Hoorem/)                 |
|      |     | /wesoor/ | to hobble  |
|      |     | /wooz/   | she-goat (with the def. art. /Hooz/)               |
| 1.61 | /y/ | /yebiit/ | she-camel (with the def. art. /Haybiit/)           |
|      |     | /yimSee/ | yesterday  |
|      |     | /yeneet/ | women (with the def. art. /Hayneet/)               |
|      |     | /yereez/ | rice   |
|      |     | /yeseer/ | hobble, tether (the plural of which is /wesawret/) |
|      |     | /Hayb/   | father   |

- 1.62    /ø/    As (ø), the /6/ radical appears as a lengthening of vowels in definite forms, as:-

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| /buu/    | people (/Haabuu/, the people)                |
| /goor/   | slave (/Haagoor/, the slave)                 |
| /gereet/ | female slave (/Haagereet/, the female slave) |
| /soos/   | foundation                                   |
| /reet/   | moon (/Haareet/, the moon)                   |
| /rawn/   | goats (/Haarawn/, the goats)                 |



- 1.63 An initial glottal stop radical occurs in a number of M words normally followed by /a/, /e/, /aa/, and /ee/. Thus:-

/6a-/	the (preceding glottalized and voiced consonants)
/6aa/	oh!
/6ekay/	we two
/6el/	not
/6aaf/	a thousand (/6lf/)
/6eemer/	huge
/6ans/	humans
/6as(s)/	difficulty
/6eteem/	you m. pl.
/6eteen/	you f. pl.
/6etay/	you two
/6eewa/	yes

- 1.64 Occasionally initial glottal stop radical is replaced by /h/, as:-

/hiiboo/	how? (compare J /yo/, and Ar /k-6ayfa/ and Hebrew /6eefoooh/)
/heet/	thou (m. and f.)

- 1.65 In one example, the only example where there is a nasalised /o/ in M, the initial glottal stop is replaced by /H/:-

/Hoo/	where? (/6yn/) (compare B /Haane/, J /Hun/ and /Hutun/, S /6o6o/)
-------	---

- 1.66 In words borrowed from Ar, the glottal stop usually remains in initial position, as for example:-

/6adab/	manners
/6adiib/	educated
/6ekiid/	certain
/6amaan/	protection
/6iimaan/	faith, belief

Such words, of course, are not important in terms of M phonology.

- 1.67 Initial glottal stop replaces an earlier voiced pharyngeal consonant in M. In initial position this does not have the variants /w/, /y/, etc., which an initial glottal stop radical has (see 1.59 ff.).

- 1.68 In medial position, the function of the glottal stop is to lengthen the preceding or following vowel, and it seldom occurs explicitly.

- 1.69 The /w/ and /y/ variants of radical /6/ occur in non-initial position where the glottal stop is the first consonant of the syllable, and is followed by a vowel.

- 1.70 On the general point that the vowel is lengthened compare the following:-

/xaa/	like, as (/x6/)
/haadoon/	to warn (compare /hendoor/, to vow)

/ʒaamuun/	to believe in (compare /ʒekmuun/, to shelter from the rain)
/fool/	omen (/f6l/)
/foos/	axe (/f6s/)
/Koo/	why?
/rooh/	head
/sool/	to ask for payment of a debt
/soom/	to sell (/s6m/)
/seetem/	to buy
/soon/	sake

1.71                      Some examples of /w/ and /y/ arising from a glottal stop radical as the initial consonant of a non-initial syllable are given below:-

	/awooden/	to call to prayer (/6dn/)
	/awooked/	to promise (/6kd/)
	/reyee:reyooten/	lung:lungs
*	/saayiima/	about to sell (/s6m/)

1.72                      In M all forms which would otherwise begin or end with a vowel, begin or end with a consonant. In initial position this consonant is invariably /6/. In the system of transcription used in this thesis, however, only a radical /6/ is transcribed.

\* However the glottal stop in this case might be better considered as an element of the /aa/, and the /y/ as euphonic.

/seweexer/                      to be late (/6xr/)

In final position the closing consonant is either /6/ or /h/, but since this seems to be a phonetic rather than a phonological feature, it is similarly not transcribed. Examples of final radical glottal stop are given below:-

/ebtoode6/	to begin
/hebTaa6/	to be delayed
/beTay6/	late
/meele6/	to be full
/weeTe6/	smooth, flat
/wetooze6/	to make the ritual ablutions

1.73

The following are examples where the final glottal stop is non-radical (and therefore not normally transcribed):-

/denyaa6/	(this) world
/giiwee6/	deep holes
/Gaytay6/	necks
/Hebsoo6/	Ethiopians (m. pl.)

1.74

In some cases it is difficult to distinguish a euphonic closing glottal stop from a stop replacing a final /y/ or /w/ radical. Thus:-

/fedee6/	ransom
/nedee6/	dew
/seme6/	sky

1.75

THE VOICED PHARYNGAL

Although the voiced pharyngal seldom occurs explicitly, its presence as a radical in a form is usually fairly easy to determine by the changes which it produces in the forms in which it is present. Some of these changes have been discussed above (see 1.2 ff, 1.31 ff, 1.33 ff, 1.49 ff and 1.110 below).

1.76

In general terms, the presence of the voiced pharyngal consonant may be determined by the occurrence of /aa/ in place of /e(e)/ (though not in bound forms such as /aCooCeC/ - see 1.46 - or /CooCeC/ - see 2.17 ff), or /ay/ in place of /ii/, and of /aw/ in place of /uu/. Thus:-

1.77

/aa/	/6aabuud/	to worship (compare /ewbuud/, to hit (/bbd/))
	/6aatebuur/	to be given a lift (compare /eftekuur/, to think)
	/6aaduud/	to put aside (compare /6emduud/, to take s.t. from s.o.)
	/6aadeel/	to bet (compare /6ebeedel/, to take in exchange)
	/haadoom/	to remove completely (compare /hedhood/, to be industrious)
	/maadeeb/	sticks to remove milk-heating stones (compare /meHleeb/, male camel calf on the udder)
	/6aadfeet/	cluster of dates (compare /KeTfeet/, snip taken out of an animal's ear)
	/6aader/	excuse (compare /6eemer/, huge)
	/6aagayn/	dough (compare /senayn/, a year older)

	/6aaSer/	night (compare /beeder/, seed)
	/6aaTer/	perfume (compare /beeker/, first-born)
	/gaar/	to fall (compare /feheem/, to understand)
	/hezraa/	to cultivate (compare /hezboon/, to protect)
1.78	/ay/	
	/ayber/	to gaze at s.t. in the distance (compare /kiifel/, to be guarantor)
	/6aymel/	to do (compare /niidem/, to repent of s.t.)
	/6ayser/ (/yoom/)	ten (days) (/9sr/)
	/6aysee/	supper (/9sy/)
	/Delayt/	crippled (f.s.) (compare /bedyiit/, lying (f.s.))
	/yebayt/	seven (f.) (/hb9/)
	/menayl/	naughty (compare /megliil/, cooked; cooking hearth)
	/enkayta/	about to come (f.s.) (compare /ketbiita/, about to write (f.s.))
	/rebayt/	quarter (/rb9/) (compare /remmiit/, brittle (f.s.))
	/merKayt/	corner (/rK9/)

1.79                    In final unstressed syllables /a/ occurs where comparable forms have /-eC/ (see 1.49, 1.111 ff.).

1.80                    The diphthong /aw/ occurs in final syllables or monosyllables closed by a consonant, as:-

/aw/	/fawm/	legs (/f9m/)
------	--------	--------------

/ferawten/	brave (f. pl.) (/fr9/) (compare /gedmuuten/, leprous (f. pl.))
/kawr/	to roll s.t. down (/k9r/) (compare /kebuur/, to stay with people and drink their milk)
/ʒeSawK/	to answer a call (/S9K/) (compare /ʒeSduuK/, to believe)

1.81 The voiced pharyngal occurs explicitly only sporadically, as, for example, the affixed form of /fawm/, feet:-

/fe9amse/	her feet
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Other examples of explicit voiced pharyngal radical are:-

/9iileeg/	2 to 4 year-old camel (but pl. /6aaloog/)
/be9ayr/	male camel (but pl. /be6eyoor/, but also /baayoor/)
/ke9aal/	swollen testicles (but s. /kaaleet/)
/Kee9i/	earth spirit (but pl. /Keeyooy/)
/ne9eet/	udder (but pl. /nayten/)

It will be noted that except in initial position, the long vowel or diphthong occurs to the exclusion both of the voiced pharyngal and the glottal stop.

1.82 THE GLOTTALIZED CONSONANTS

The glottalized consonants condition the quality of the following long vowel or diphthong, except in certain bound forms, as will have been seen from the discussion of /aa/ and /ay/ (see 1.2-ff and 1.31). As a matter of convenience the facts are considered again briefly below.

1.83 An original short vowel, or the vowel corresponding in the base form to /ee/, are realised after a glottalized consonant as /aa/. Thus:-

1.84	/Kv(v)/	/yebKaal/	3 m.s. subj. of /beKawl/, (grass) to grow after rain (Contrast /yebkeer/, from /bekoor/, (male) to mount (a female)
		/ʕeKaabeH/	to speak bad words to o.a. (Contrast /ʕekeelef/, to get into trouble)
		/Kaader/	pot (Contrast /keeDer/, knot)
		/ʕeKaadi/	to throw stones at o.a. (Contrast /ʕegeehi/, to have a disagreement with s.o.)
		/Kaafel/	lock (Contrast /keeHel/, kohl)
		/Kaama/ (baaleet a-)	flintlock (Contrast /jam9/, fist)
		/KaaTer/	direction (Contrast /keeter/, much, amount)
		/Kaaʕeb/	lucerne (Contrast /beeʕer/, slit, cut)



1.85	*	/Sv(v)/	/yaaSaab/	3 m.s. subj. of / <del>baa</del> Sawb/, to tie (Contrast /yaazeeb/, from /6aazuub/, to be alone with animals)
			/beSaal/	onions (Contrast /bedeel/, improvement in health)
			/beSaar/	dawn (Contrast /xebeer/, news)
			/eKSaam/	colder (Contrast /exfeef/, lighter)
			/Saaber/	patience (Contrast /geeber/, vulva)
			/Saafer/	brass (Contrast /neeHer/, side-valley)
			/SaaKer/	falcon (Contrast /feeger/, dawn)

\* but, exceptionally /Seeder/ (/seeder/?), grow

1.86		/Tv(v)/	/KerTaas/	piece of paper (Contrast /6aardee/ nape of the neck)
			/Taaba/	manners (Contrast /Seeba/, seven (days))
			/Taabel/	drum (Contrast /beeKel/, grass after rain)
			/Taafel/	child (Contrast /neeGel/, bastard)
			/xiiTaam/	leading rein (Contrast /riigeem/, cover)
			/xeTaar/	danger (Contrast /xebeer/, news)

1.87                    There are no relevant comparative examples following /~~ʃ~~/, which is a rare phoneme in M.

1.88                    Compare also:-

/DaaHem/	camel urine
/Daay/	smell

1.89      THE GUTTURAL CONSONANTS

The guttural consonants condition the quality of the following long vowel, as will have been seen from the discussion of /aa/ and /ay/ (see 1.2ff, 1.31). As a matter of convenience, the facts are considered again briefly below.

1.90      It may be noted also that certain of the guttural consonants modify the quality of a preceding long vowel in final syllables. Thus, for example:-

/henfeex/	to blow on (compare /hengood/, to go to the Negd)
/henseeH/	to wipe one's mouth (contrast /hensoor/, to have had enough sleep)

1.91      In certain definable circumstances, a final guttural radical may cause regression of stress, as compared with comparable forms and patterns (see 1.110 ff.).

1.92      Where the voiced pharyngal (see 1.75 ff.) is the second radical, it is seldom explicit. The combination /short vowel + voiced pharyngal/ is usually realised as /aa/. This /aa/ is frequently raised and fronted:- /ee/ - though it is difficult to define accurately when this occurs, and a form may have different vowel quality when suffixes are added. Thus, for example:-

	/baal/	possessor of, master
but	/abeeli/ or /ab <u>ee</u> li/	God (literally:- my master)

1.93                    Since, however, this quality change is non-distinctive, it is not transcribed in the phonological transcription used in this thesis.

1.94                    The following examples illustrate these points:-

/baar/, (/bɛɛr/)	camels (/b9r/)
/faam/, (/fɛɛm/)	leg (/f9m/)
/raaf/, (/rɛɛf/)	refactory camels (/r9f/)
/saar/, (/sɛɛr/)	dry grass (/s9r/)

but also:-

/baad/	after
/baaʒ/	some
/waad/	meeting

1.95                    Where the /aa/ arises from /short vowel + voiced pharyngeal consonant + short vowel/, the resultant /aa/ is not raised and fronted. Thus:-

/baar/	to travel at night
/gaar/	to fall

1.96                    The /aa/ of forms which carry the feminine singular suffixes does not have this raised and fronted quality either. Thus:-

/baaleet/	mistress, owner (/b9l/)
/taabeet/	cough (/t9b/)
/zaaweet/	plant name (/z9w/)

1.97           Explicit medial voiced pharyngal consonant occurs occasionally in most roots exceptionally, and a few words alternatively have a glottal stop in place of this medial voiced pharyngal consonant. Further realisations, explicit and implicit, of the voiced pharyngal are discussed in the section on the voiced pharyngal consonant (see 1.75ff.).

1.98           Where the voiced pharyngal is the final radical, an original short vowel plus the voiced pharyngal consonant in a stressed syllable is usually realised as the fronted and raised variant of /aa/, namely /ee/, unless the second radical influences the quality of the vowel. Thus:-

/ʒeblaa/, (/ʒebl <u>ee</u> /)	to be easily swallowed
/medfaa/, (/medf <u>ee</u> /)	cannon
/heDmaa/, (/heDm <u>ee</u> /)	to let (animals) become thirsty
/fTaa/ (where the /T/ excludes the possi- bility of / <u>ee</u> /)	to look different
/ʒegmaa/, (/ʒegm <u>ee</u> /)	to be slapped on the backside

1.99           In the case of the other gutturals, namely /G/, /h/, /H/, and /x/, a short vowel normally occurs in initial and medial syllables, /aa/ occurring only when /ee/ occurs in the base pattern. Thus:-

/Gamd/	sheath
/hand/	India
/harK/	theft
/HaKf/	corner on a mountain
/xarf/	monsoon rains

1.100           Where the base pattern is characterised by /Cee(C)/, forms with a guttural radical (other than /h/), have /Caa(C)/, as:-

(a)	/Gaadel/	heavy load (contrast /geedel/, foot)
	/Gaarew/	one-day-old camel (contrast /geezel/, big rock)
	/Haagel/	eyebrow (contrast /beeKel/, vegetation after rain)
	/Haamel/	load (contrast /keeseb/, acquisition)
	/Haamež/	sour (contrast /keereš/, belly)
	/xaamer/	wine (compare /ʕeeTer/, span of the fingers, and contrast the mono-syllabic form /xabz/, bread)

1.101           There are few comparable forms with initial /h/, but compare:-

/heexer/	old man (as against J /ʕaxer/)
----------	--------------------------------

Compare also:-

/beheel/	to be cooked (food) (contrast /reHaal/, to bring water from afar)
----------	---

/feheem/	to understand (contrast /reHaam/, to be kind
----------	---

There are other differences between /h/ and the other gutturals as regards the quality of the contiguous vowel, which correlate with the difference noted here.

(b)	/ʕeGaayeD/	to get angry with o.a. (contrast /ʕeleebed/, to shoot back at s.o.)
	/ʕeHaami/	to get married to (contrast /ʕekeeri/, to rent)
	/reGaad/	segregated camels (contrast /bereed/ (pl.) hail)
	/ʕexaareg/	to read, interpret (contrast /ʕeneeGem/, to quarrel with o.a.)

1.102

THE LIQUID /l/

This consonant is realised in preconsonantal position as /w/. Thus:-

/fewfiil/	hot pepper (/flfl/)
/GewDayn/	obesity (/G1D/)
/kewteet/	story (cf. the plural form /kelatten/)
/mewKaat/	spoon (cf. the plural form /mooleK/)
/mewTemeet/	slap (/lTm/)
/sewseleet/	chain (/slsl/)

1.103

Furthermore, the syllable /le-/ is normally realised as /ew-/, as:-\*

/ewbeneet/	whiteness (/lbn/)
/ewfook/	curds (/lfK/)
/ewftayn/	ant (cf. SM /lefteen/)
/ewKemeet/	mouthful (/lKm/)
/ewSiin/	tongue (/lSn/)
/ewxaym/	shark (/lxm/)

1.104

Forms of the pattern /CvCC/ become /CaaC/ where C<sup>2</sup> is /l/, as:-

/Sebdaak/	I/you (m.s.), exchanged (/bd1/)
/gaad/	skin (cf. the plural form /geleed/)

\* this also can occur where C<sup>1</sup> is /m/, /n/ and /r/.

/Haam/	dream (cf. the plural form /Helawm/)
/kaat/	talk (/klt/)
/Kaab/	mind, intelligence (cf. J /Kalb/)
/xewaaten/	aunts; mothers-in-law (cf. the singular form /xeloot/)

In one case, /al/ is realised as /aw/, as:-

/kawb/	wolf (cf. J /kob/, and the plural form /keloob/)
--------	--

1.105

Where the /l/ precedes the pharyngeal /H/, however, the /l/ is often realised, as:-

/KelHayn/	mussel
/melHaat/	salt
/melHaaw/	jaw
/SalH/	truce
/TalH/	plant name



In general terms, in M it is possible to say that forms involving a series of open syllables of the earlier type /CaCaC(a)/, /CaCaC/, /CaCaCat/, developed final stress, this vowel of the final syllable becoming long, and the vowel of the unstressed syllables becoming /e/, as:-

	<u>kataba</u>	>	/ketuub/
and	<u>Katabat</u>	>	/ketebuut/
			etc.

It is not possible to say exactly under what conditions an original /a/ might develop into /oo/ or further to /uu/, or into /ee/ or further to /ii/ in stressed syllables. In certain forms, however, it seems possible that /oo/ developed in a final stressed syllable which was originally open, and /ee/ in syllables which were originally closed. It similarly seems likely, therefore, that verbs retained their final vowel longer than nouns. Thus, whereas:-

earlier	' <u>kataba</u> '	>	/ketoob/	>	/ketuub/
earlier	' <u>sabab</u> '	>	/sebeeb/		

The many feminine endings in /-oot/ and /-uut/, however, make it difficult to press this point too far.

1.107                   Stress, however, is always final in forms of the earlier type /CaCaC(a)/, with the exception of forms involving a final guttural radical.

1.108                   Initial stress is associated with /CaCC(a)/ patterns.  
Thus:-

earlier 'badr' > /beeder/ seed  
and similarly  
earlier 'gamd' > /geemed/ > /giimed/ to become solid

1.109                   The stress in verbs and nouns with a final guttural radical falls regularly on the pre-final syllable in forms of the earlier pattern /CaCaC(a)/, /eCtaCaC(a)/ patterns involving a series of short vowels in open syllables.

1.110                   In some verbs with a final guttural radical there are forms in which the vowel preceding the guttural radical has been elided. Thus:-

*	/fetH/	to open
	/mesH/	to stroke
	/kefx/	to slap
	/nefh/	to recover from a faint
	/netx/	to snatch

\* This pattern does not occur otherwise in the simple verb, except with /netk/, to bite.

- 1.111 It therefore seems possible that the initial stress in forms such as /nooka/, to come, resulted from the elision of the original pre-guttural vowel in verbs of this type (and, indeed, forms of this intermediate type have survived), and its being replaced at a later stage by an anaptyctic vowel, such as that which has been added to forms such as /beeder/, seed.\*  
Thus:-

'naka9a' > nak9 > nakv9 > nooka

as:

'badr' > badvr > beeder

- 1.112 Compare also:-

/kuude6/	to race
/luuteG/	to kill
/duubeh/	to collect honey
/suubeH/	to swim
/fuuTex/	to hit on the head

- 1.113 Compare also:-

/ebtoode6/	to begin
/emtooga6/	to eat and drink simultaneously
/emtooreG/	to roll in the dust
/extooleh/	to abort

\* and the elision of an original vowel, and its replacement by an anaptyctic vowel - cf. Nejdi Ar 'yaktibuun' > yektbuun > yaketbuun.

- 1.114 Compare also particularly the following verb, in which the base form has no anaptyctics:-

/iftaʃH/ to wander about

- 1.115 Compare also the following nouns, although they could have arisen in a different way from the verb:-

/hoola6/ shadow  
 /Kaama/(baaleet a-) flintlock  
 /Hooma/ a shell  
 /ʒoofeG/ cow dung

- 1.116 In polysyllabic forms the stress always falls on the long syllable. Where the long syllable is /Cv̄v/, it is not always possible, on theoretical grounds, to distinguish whether this long vowel relates to an earlier stressed short, or to an earlier stressed long vowel, since both shorten on closure of the syllable, to /v̄/. Thus:-

/ketebuut/, she wrote and /katabə̄th/, she wrote it  
 /Soofi/, pure (m.s.) and (f.s.) /Sāfyet/

- 1.117 Where an original long vowel occurs in a final syllable, however, there is a tendency for the preceding vowel to be long (or to have been lengthened), and in these circumstances both syllables are equally stressed. Thus:-

/diiwee6/	medicine
/fiiKaa/	covers
/fiiTaa/	private parts
/goodiil/	burning brand
/giidoor/	cairn, wall
/giilool/	flame; s.t. cooked
/giiroob/	date basket
/HiibooT/	swelling
/kiimeem/	udder cover
/miirees/	camel girth
/niideex/	smoke
/noomiil/	ant
/niizaaf/	covers
/riigeem/	food cover
/Siiraa/	navel
/siiwooT/	fire
/xiiTaam/	rein

1.118            Many other pattern have two long vowels, not necessarily related to original long vowels, as for example the diminutive patterns, those with a long vowel arising from /9/ etc., and these similarly have two stressed syllables. Compare also forms like:-

/diiHasten/	tiresome (f. pl.)
-------------	-------------------

with two long syllables. For example:-

/6eed <u>a</u> anoot/	from /Hey <u>d</u> een/	ear (dim.)
/6aagereez/		testicles
/6aaKaar/		bigger
/siiroona/		about to go

1.119 Long syllables of the type /(-)CvC-/ can be seen to carry the stress, from examples such as the following:- \*

/abak <u>r</u> es/	her first born (from /beeker/)
/gibwa <u>h</u> ten/	blunt (f. pl.)
/e <u>H</u> yarten/	donkeys (f. pl.)
/kar <u>b</u> el/	to crawl
/ket <u>e</u> bk/	I/you (m.s.) wrote
/a <u>K</u> arfed/	to turn over

\* Any combination of two consonants in M can be split by a euphonic vowel, but such euphonic vowels do not always occur, and where they do occur syllabication is not affected, though there is sometimes a tendency for the preceding vowel to be half-long. Thus:-

/safrek/	I/you (m.s.) travelled
----------	------------------------

may be realised phonetically as:-

/sa:ferek/	I/you (m.s.) travelled
------------	------------------------

where /:/ denotes a half-long vowel. It will be noted, however, that the first syllable is not phonologically open - compare:-

/soofer/	he travelled
----------	--------------

after the insertion of this euphonic vowel.

/Kii <sup>ˈ</sup> Sarten/	short (f. pl.)
/safre <sup>ˈ</sup> k/	I/you (m.s.) travelled
/sathel <sup>ˈ</sup> /	to be finished
/xiiwatt <sup>ˈ</sup> en/	armpits
/yedant <sup>ˈ</sup> en/	new (f. pl.)
/negest <sup>ˈ</sup> /	unclean, impure (f.s.)
/xefe <sup>ˈ</sup> ft/	light (f.s.)

In polysyllables with a series of open syllables with the vowel /e/, the final /-eC/ syllable does not attract stress, the stress falling on the penultimate syllable.\* Thus:-

/fe <sup>ˈ</sup> Keret/	poor (f.s.) (/feKayr/ m.s.)
/gedet <sup>ˈ</sup> /	good (f.s.) (/giid/ m.s.)
/keremet <sup>ˈ</sup> /	gentle (f.s.) (/keraym/ m.s.)
/Ke <sup>ˈ</sup> Seret/	short (f.s.) (/KeSayr/ m.s.)

\* In forms relating to the pattern /CeCayC/ however, the penultimate vowel is normally long, and this may account for the stress in this rather rare pattern. Thus:-

/Ge <sup>ˈ</sup> Saymet/	clumsy (f.s.) (/GeSaym/ m.s.)
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1.121      A N A P T Y X I S   A N D   E L I S I O N

With most clusters of two consonants, a euphonic anaptyctic vowel can be introduced between them, as:-

/feterik/	to be cocked
/Sexebu <sup>h</sup> uur/	to ask
	etc.

This euphonic vowel is not transcribed, as it does not affect the rules of syllabication, since it does not open the vowel of the preceding syllable.

1.122              In general, an initial consonant cluster does not occur (as in Ar) without the occurrence of an anaptyctic, but some such forms do exist, either with a grammatical function, or where one element of a three consonant cluster has been elided. Thus:-

/flood/	to run away (cf. /hebdo <sup>h</sup> ol/, to exchange)
/khool/	to be able to show patience (cf. /heKho <sup>h</sup> ob/, to bring the animals back at mid-day)

Forms such as these normally have a euphonic anaptyctic between the first and second consonants.



1.123 Compare also, (arising from /skk-/), the following:-

/skayn/	knife
/skoon/	rudder
/skeer/	sugar

1.124 Tri-syllables, conversely, may show elision of the second short vowel of this series, so that it is difficult to establish absolutely whether the form was originally tri-syllabic or di-syllabic. Thus, for example, in the following form:-

/segereet/	sand-grouse
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it is difficult to determine whether the vowel of the second syllable is a euphonic vowel, or an original vowel.

## M O R P H O L O G Y

### 2. S I N G U L A R   T R I - R A D I C A L   P A T T E R N S

S I N G U L A R   T R I - R A D I C A L   P A T T E R N S

2.1            The tri-radical patterns occurring most frequently in the sample are as follows (in order of frequency):-

(1)            /CvCvvC/

              About three quarters of the forms of this pattern are of the patterns /CeCeeC/, and its conditioned variant /CeCaaC/.

              /CeCyooC/, /CeCyuuC/, /CeCwuuC/ and /CeCwiiC/ also occur. These are common as plural patterns, but relatively rare as singular patterns, being confined to forms with C<sup>2</sup> geminated, and those with a medial guttural consonant. Thus:-

<u>C<sup>2</sup> geminated</u>	/Heſyuuſ/	with the bones smashed
	/redwiid/	nit
	/zerwuur/	saliva dribbling from the corners of the mouth
<u>C<sup>3</sup> guttural</u>	/behyyuuk/	having depigmented patches on the skin
	/KeHyoor/	small amount left in a dish

(2)            /CvCC/

              Over half of the forms of this pattern have a medial weak radical, the remainder having medial /r/, or C<sup>2</sup>, C<sup>3</sup> a fricative consonant.

(3)        /Cv̄vCvC/

Over half of the forms of this pattern have the long vowel /oo/ in the first syllable. The remainder are made up of forms of the pattern /CeeCeC/ and its conditioned variant /CaaCeC/.

(4)        /Cv̄CCv̄vt/

The majority of the forms of this pattern have the feminine marker /eet/ (or its conditioned variant /aat/), or /iit/ (or its conditioned variant /ayt/). (See Phonology 1.2, 1.30). There are relatively few forms with the feminine markers /oot/ and /uut/.

(5)        /CeCayC/

This form is primarily adjectival, though nominal forms can occur.

2.2        It is interesting that a comparison of the frequency of occurrence of the various patterns in Jahn<sup>\*</sup> produces the same kind of results as above, given that in the Southern dialect

\* Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien (see Bibliography). The examples taken from his work are throughout given in accordance with the system of consonantal transcription used in this thesis.

studied by him /ii/, by and large, occurs in place of Negdi Mahri /ay/. The correlation in general, however, is fairly close and his sample of nominal forms is, moreover, approximately as large as that of this thesis.

S I N G U L A R   T R I - R A D I C A L   P A T T E R N S  
W I T H   N O   F E M I N I N E   M A R K E R

2.3    CvCC

This is one of the five most common singular tri-radical patterns of the sample. With the exception of suffixed forms (see 2.10 ) this pattern occurs only in certain phonetic contexts:-

2.4    CaCC

Where the second radical is the semi-vowel /w/ or /y/, as:-

CawC	/dawr/	turn
	/gawb/	shield
	/gawH/	water melon
	/hawG/	dew
	/Hawz/	boundary marker
	/Kawš/	small group of she-camels
	/Tawr/	time, turn
CayC	/dayn/	debt
	/Gayl/	star name
	/HayK/	share
	/HayT/	section of a track
	/SayH/	desert

- 2.5 Where the second radical is /r/, or /l/ preceding a pharyngal /H/ (see 1.105).

CarC	/bark/	knee
	/darg/	white cloth
	/Darb/	piece of wood
	/fart/	food in the intestines of a slaughtered animal
	/farx/	bastard
	/xarg/	saddle bag
CalC	/SalH/	truce
	/TalH/	plant name

Compare also:-

/koob:keloob/	wolf
/Koon:Keroon/	horn; dagger hilt

In these examples the /r/ or /l/ radical is explicit only in the plural forms.

- 2.6 There is sometimes lengthening of the /a/ vowel in the contiguity of /r/ (cf. 1.9), as:-

/saaref/	side
/Kaared/	throat

where the better forms are probably /sarf/ and /Kard/, the lengthening of the vowel, and the anaptyctic vowel being a phonetic feature only of such forms.

- 2.7                   Where the first radical is a glottalized or a guttural consonant, as:-

/Garb/	a big water bucket
/hags/	thought
/harK/	theft
/HaKE/	corner on a mountain
/Ham <u>t</u> /	lower stomach
/KaSd/	aim
/Sanx/	fat put on the fire to melt
/TaFH/	mountain side
/xanK/	choker necklace
/xarf/	autumn rains
/xaSm/	enemy

(However, see also 2.11)

- 2.6                   Where the medial radical is a guttural consonant, as:-

/faGs/	plentiful grazing
/raHt/	happiness
/saHT/	slaughter
/ʕaxʕ/	bark of twig used as a gun
/ʕaxT/	matches



2.7 Where the final radical is a guttural consonant, as:-

/faKH/	half
/faTx/	hit, blow on the head
/saTH/	ceiling
/ʕabH/	fat
/waʕH/	time(s) per day

2.8 Where more than one radical is one of the aforementioned pattern determinants:-

/HarK/	heat
/Harz/	silver amulet
/Karʕ/	silver coin
/ʕarH/	something lost
/warx/	month

2.9 Except in the circumstances described above, /CeeCeC/ (or its conditioned variant /CaaCeC/) or /CooCeC/ occur to the exclusion of /CaCC/.

2.10 However, the suffixed pattern of /CeeCeC/ and of /CooCeC/ when nominal, is /()CaCC-<sup>\*</sup>/, and clearly both nominal /CeeCeC/

\* In suffixed forms deriving from /CooCeC/ the vowel is lower and retracted (backer), as e.g. /abakri/ 'my young camel' (from /booker/), against /abəkri/, 'my first born', (from /beeker/).

and nominal /CooCeC/ have developed from /CaCC/.

For this reason, these patterns are considered as subsections of the pattern /CaCC/, and will be discussed in this section.

CvvCvC

2.11

CaaCeC

/CaaCeC/ is a conditioned variant of the pattern /CeeCeC/, being confined to forms where the initial radical is a guttural or a glottalized consonant, as:-

/6aa <u>d</u> er/	excuse (cf. Ar /9u <u>d</u> r/)
/6aa <u>k</u> el/	mind (cf. Ar /9a <u>k</u> l/)
/6aa <u>k</u> er/	size
/6aa <u>m</u> er/	matter; age (cf. Ar /6a <u>m</u> r/ and /9u <u>m</u> r/)
/6aa <u>t</u> er/	perfume (cf. Ar /9i <u>t</u> r/)
/Daa <u>h</u> em/	camel urine
/Haag <u>l</u> i/	eyebrow (but /Ha <u>g</u> li/, my eyebrow)
/Haam <u>l</u> /	load (cf. Ar /Hi <u>m</u> l/)
/Haa <u>s</u> en/	big house, building (cf. Ar /Hu <u>s</u> n/)
/Gaad <u>l</u> i/	big load (but /a <u>G</u> adli/, my big load)
/Kaad <u>ri</u> /	pot (but /a <u>K</u> adri/, my pot)
/Kaa <u>f</u> el/	lock (cf. OA /ge <u>f</u> l/)
/Kaa <u>s</u> em/	cold, coldness
/Kaa <u>t</u> er/	direction (cf. Ar /Ku <u>t</u> r/)
/Saa <u>f</u> er/	brass (cf. Ar /Su <u>f</u> r/)
/Saa <u>h</u> er/	brand (but /a <u>S</u> a <u>H</u> ri/, my brand)
/Taab <u>l</u> /	drum (cf. Ar /Tab <u>l</u> /)
/Taaf <u>l</u> /	child (cf. Ar /Ti <u>f</u> l/)
/xaam <u>r</u> /	wine (cf. Ar /xa <u>m</u> r/)
/ʔaag <u>m</u> i/	cheek (but /aʔ <u>a</u> gmi/, my cheek)

2.12 /CaaCaC/ also occurs when C<sup>3</sup> is /9/ or /6/, as:-

/Kaama6/	flintlock
/ḡaara6/	street
/ʔaala6/	rib

(For the vowel change /e/ to /a/ preceding a /6/ or /9/ consonant, see Phonology 1.49.)

## 2.13

CeeCeC

Except in forms in which certain radicals function as pattern determinants as discussed above, /CeeCeC/ (and less frequently /CooCeC/) occurs to the exclusion of /CaCC/, with the affixed pattern /(a-) CaCC-/. Thus:-

/beeder/	seed (but /abadri/, my seed)
/beeker/	first born (but /abakri/, my first born)
/beezer/	tear, slit (but /abaʒri/, my tear)
/feeger/	dawn (but /fagri/, my dawn)
/feehem/	understanding (but /fahmi/, my understanding)
/feesel/	affair, one's work (but /faʒli/, my work, my affair)
/geeber/	vulva (but /agabri/, my vulva)
/geeser/	coarsely ground flour (but /agaʒri/, my flour)
/geezel/	big rock (but /agazli/, my big rock)
/keeseb/	acquisition (but /kasbi/, my acquisition)
/keeDer/	knot (but /kaDri/, my knot)
/meeher/	bride price (but /amahri/, my bride price)
/needer/	vow (but /anadri/, my vow)
/seeken/	small community (but /sakni/, my community)
/seekel/	twin (but /sakli/, my twin)
/weezen/	weight (but /awazni/, my weight)

2.14 Forms with a medial guttural radical can occasionally be realised as /CeeCeC/ (as against /CaCC/. See 2.6)

Thus:-

/feeHel/	penis (but /faHli/, my penis)
/heexer/	old man (but /haxri/, my old man)
/neeGel/	bastard (but /anaGli/, my bastard)
/neeHeg/	game, dancing (but /anaHgi/, my dancing)
/neeHer/	side-wadi (but /anaHri/, my side-wadi)
/reeGeb/	small branch (but /araGbi/, my small branch)
/seeHez/	frankincense (but /saHzi/, my frankincense)

2.15 However, Jahn (where the comparison can be made) has recorded these as /CvCC/, as:-

/faHL/	penis
/naGl/	bastard
	etc.

2.16

GooCeC

This pattern can occur nominally, though is less common than /CeeCeC/ and /CaaCeC/. On suffixation the pattern becomes /(a)CaCC-/. The long /oo/ vowel of the first syllable is retained even where C<sup>1</sup> is a guttural or a glottalized consonant. Some nominal examples are given below:-

/Goozel/	cotton cloth, bush (but /aGazli/, my cotton)
/Gooti/	neck (but /aGatye/, my neck)
/hoofel/	stomach (but /hafli/, my stomach)
/HooSel/	pebbles (but /HaSli/, my pebbles)
/Hootem/	coffee pot spout (but /Hatmi/, my coffee pot spout)
/Koober/	grave (but /Kabri/, my grave)
/noofel/	splinter (but /anafli/, my splinter)
/SooTer/	big date basket (but /aSaTri/, my big date basket)
/Soower/	stone (but /aSawri/, my stone)
/sooged/	fine fishing net (but /sagdi/, my fishing net)
/xoozer/	ghee (but /axazri/, my ghee)

2.17

Most adjectives\* derived from the simple verb are of the /GooCeC/ pattern, though /CeeCeC/ and /CaaCeC/ can occur also.

\* In form equivalent to the Ar active participle of the /CaaCiC/ pattern, but these adjectives have no verbal functions.

A few examples only will be given here, since adjectives are discussed in full elsewhere.\* The relationship between the /CvvCvC/ and /CvCC/ patterns is further illustrated by the feminine forms of these adjectives which are most commonly of the pattern /CaCCet/. Thus:-

/6ooKel;6aaKlet/	clever
/6ooyel;6aylet/	small, mean
/footer;fatret/	not fasting
/Hoozer;Hažret/	present, ready

- 2.18           The long /oo/ vowel of the first syllable is retained where C<sup>1</sup> is a guttural or a glottalized consonant in adjectival as well as in nominal forms. Thus:-

/Gooli/	expensive (cf. Ar /Gaali/)
/xooyen/	oathbreaking (cf. Ar /xaa6in/)
/xooyes/	rotten (cf. Ar /xaa6is/)

- 2.19           Compare also the following which, since they are applicable only to females, have no feminine marker:-

/6ooteK/	a camel with little milk
/Goober/	a camel about to give birth
/Hoofi/	a she camel with small young
/foorek/	wife who has left her husband

\* See the section on adjectives, 13 ff.



2.20 Free variants of the /CeeCeC/ and /CooCeC/ patterns occasionally occur, as:-

/doolew/	and	/deelew/	well bucket
/goobi/	and	/geebi/	edge, limit of an enclosure

2.21 By comparing forms of the pattern /CaaCeC/ and /CooCeC/, it can be seen that pairs of words can occasionally be differentiated by the long /oo/ and /aa/ vowels, although the underlying patterns of the two are different. Thus:-

	/6aaKel/ (/CvCC/)	mind, intelligence
and	/6ooKel/ (/CvvCvC/)	clever, intelligent
	/Saaber/ (/CvCC/)	patience
and	/Soober/ (/CvvCvC/)	patient

2.22 CeCC

This pattern occurs rarely, and only where  $C^2$  or  $C^3$  is a glottalized radical. Thus:-

---

/feKʔ/	coconut meat
/reSK/	lot, fortune
/SedK/	truth

---

2.23 CeC

Where  $C^2$  and  $C^3$  are identical,  $C^3$  is not always realised. It seems likely that there is a process of modification /CaCC/ to /CeC/, as can be seen when both forms exist, as:-

/sarr/	or	/ser/	mystery
/barr/	or	/ber/	maize

2.24 More commonly, however, the singular form is /CeC/, the geminate radical being explicit only in certain suffixed forms and in the plural. Thus:-

/HeD:HeDawD/	luck; share
/reK:riiKooK/	shallow
/ʃeb:Heʃbuub/	youth
/Teʃ:Teʃewweʃ/	light rain shower
/xef:xefoof/	hoof, sole of the foot

2.25        CaaC

This pattern occurs in certain limited circumstances only.

2.26        It occurs where  $C^2$  is (earlier) /9/ (as can be seen from other M.S.A. languages where /9/ is more commonly explicit, such as Jibbāali and Baṭṭhari). Thus:-

/baal/	lord, owner, possessor of
/faam/	leg
/maad/	mind, intellect
/raaf/	refractory camel
/Saar/	gazelle
/ṣaar/	dried green fodder
/waal/	Hemitragus Jayakari, male <u>tahr</u>

/CaaC/ also occurs where  $C^2$  is /l/ (see 1.104), as:-

/gaad/	skin
/Haam/	dream
/Kaab/	heart

2.27        In the dialect recorded by Jahn, however, the /l/ radical is explicit, as:-

<u>Jahn</u>	/geld/	skin
<u>Jahn</u>	/Kalb/	heart

This occurrence of the consonant /l/ in all positions is one of the most noticeable features that differentiates the two dialects.

2.28

CiIC

This pattern occurs infrequently in forms where  $G^2$  is an inexplicit /y/, as:-

/diik/	cock
/diin/	religion
/giid/	good
/riiH/	(hot) wind

2.29

CooC

This pattern occurs only in limited circumstances.

/CooC/ occurs where C<sup>2</sup> is an inexplicit /w/, as:-

/6oom/	ancestor, grandfather
/boob/	door
/Hool/	condition
/mool/	livestock
/noob/	large
/Tool/	length
/xoot/	armpit

2.30

/CooC/ occurs where C<sup>2</sup> is an inexplicit (earlier)

/6/, as:-

/fool/	omen
/foos/	axe
/šoon/	sake (as /men šoon -/, for the sake of - )

2.31

/CooC/ is also rarely the pattern of forms with a medial /9/ radical. Thus:-

/foor/	bull
/woon/	inflammation of the eye

2.32            /GooC/ also rarely occurs as the pattern of forms  
with  $C^2$  and  $C^3$  identical, as:-

/Goob/	excreta
/zoob/	a type of lizard

(However, see 2.24 ff.)

CvCvC

2.33

GeCa<sup>1</sup>C

This pattern occurs infrequently in forms with a final pharyngeal consonant, the stress falling in the second syllable. The /9/ consonant is often realised as /6/.

(See 1.67.)

/gela <sup>1</sup> H/	cuckold
/fera <sup>1</sup> 6/	brave
/ʕeba <sup>1</sup> 6/	finger
/ʕeHa <sup>1</sup> H/	sharp (but also /ʕeHa <sup>1</sup> 6H/)

2.34 CvvCvvC

Patterns with two long vowels occur fairly freely, both in singular and plural forms, though they are less common than the patterns earlier discussed. Examples are given below:-

/CiiCeeC/	/diiwee6/	medicine
	/kiimeem/	udder cover
	/miirees/	camel girth
	/niideex/	smoke (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /niidaax/)
	/riigeem/	cover
/CiiGaaC/	/fiiKaa/	bedding
	/fiiTaa/	private parts
	/niizaaf/	bed covers
	/siiraa/	sail
	/siiraa/	navel
	/xiiTaam/	leading rein
/CiiCooC/	/giidoor/	wall, cairn
	/giilool/	flame; something cooked
	/giiroob/	long date basket
	/Hiiboot/	swelling, ulcer
/CooCiiC/	/goodiil/	glowing stick
	/noomiil/	ant



/CayCeC/ and /CawCeC/2.35 /CayCeC/

This pattern is one of the most common patterns of the verbal noun (gerund), of the simple verb, as:-

/tayfel/	vn. from /tefuul/	to spit
/raykez/	vn. from /rekuuz/	to stick upright (in the ground)

(See the section on verbal nouns 10.3)

2.36 This pattern seems to have a gerundive, as against *hōmihakṇ* function, although of course other patterns may be derived from simple verbs.

2.37 Where /CayCeC/ is not a verbal noun, the diphthong is for the most part a conditioned variant of /ii/. (See Phonology 1.31.) Thus:-

/6ayri/	male cat
/Kayzer/	lynx
/Saybex/	bug
/Sayreb/	<i>Spring</i>
/zayga/	pen, enclosure

2.38

CawCeC

Only one example of a form of this pattern was attested, as:-

/KawHel/                      eggs

The diphthong would seem to be a conditioned variant of /uu/. However, the comparative J form is /KoHl/. In the absence of other examples, either comparatively in other M.S.A. languages, or in further examples of forms of this pattern, further speculation would not be useful.

CvCvvC2.39      /CeCaaC/

This pattern is a conditioned variant of the /CeCeeC/ pattern (q.v. below), occurring where C<sup>2</sup> is a glottalized or a guttural consonant. (See Phonology 1.82 ff., 1.89 ff.)

/beSaar/	dawn
/deKaa.l/	mast
/ne9aal/	sandals
/reGaad/	newly pregnant, segregated camels
/xeTaar/	danger
/zeHaak/	laughter

2.40      /CeCeeC/

On comparative grounds this pattern is to be related either to earlier nominal pattern /CaCaC/, less commonly to an earlier adjective pattern /CaCvC/ (probably /CaCiC/), or, in words with final /w/, /y/, /6/ or /9/, to earlier (or Ar) /CeCaaC/. Thus:-

2.41      earlier nominal /CaCaC/

/bedeen/	body (cf. Ar /badan/, and J /bed <sup>1</sup> en/)
/feleeg/	stream (cf. Ar /falaj/)
/gebeel/	mountain, mountains (cf. Ar /jabal/)
/meleek/	king; angel; possession (cf. Ar /malak/, angel; /malik/, king;

/milk/ and /mulk/, possession, and  
J /mélík/, king; angel. Cf. also  
Jahn /meleek/, king; /mālek/, pro-  
perty; kingdom

/mereek/	soup, gravy, sauce (cf. J /mīrāk/)
/neseem/	breath (cf. Ar /nasam/)
/remeed/	ashes (cf. Ar /ramad/)
/sebeeb/	cause (cf. Ar /sabab/, and J /si'ab/)
/temeen/	price (cf. Ar /taman/, and J /ti'en/)
/weseex/	dirt (cf. Ar /wasax/)
/xebeer/	news, information (cf. Ar /xabar/, and J /xēr/)

2.42

earlier adjectival /CaCvC/

/Hedeeb/	hunchback, hunchbacked (cf. Ar /Hadib/)
/geddeem/	lopped; leprous (cf. J /gid'im/)

2.43

earlier /CeCaaC/

/Delee6/	crippled
/fedee6/	ransom (cf. Ar /fidaa6/)
/feṣṣee6/	midday meal
/gezee6/	compassion (cf. Ar /jizaa6/)
/xelee6/	desert, emptiness (cf. Ar /xalaa6/)

2.44

/CeCeeC/ also occurs as an adjectival pattern, as:-

/xereēs/	gap-toothed
/yedeēn/	new

(See the section on adjectives, 13.14)

2.45

CeCiic

Forms of this pattern occur rarely in the sample.

Some unmodified Ar forms occur of the pattern /CeCiic/, as:-

/Keriib/	relation
/rebiic/	spring (for /6/ in place of /9/, see Phonology 1.57 ff)
/ʒeriik/	partner
/xeliig/	(the) Gulf

2.46

However, for the most part the pattern /CeCayC/ replaces /CeCiic/, as:-

/bexayl/	mean, grasping (cf. Ar /baxiil/)
/feKayr/	poor (cf. Ar /faKiir/)
	etc. (See Phonology 1.35)

2.47

Some nominal and adjectival forms of the /CeCiic/ pattern are clearly not borrowings from Ar, however. Thus:-

/behiil/	cooked food
/fegiir/	small pipe
/KeriIH/	shaven-headed
/legiim/	wooden peg put in mouth of suckling young
/ʒekiif/	collar bone
/xetiim/	weakly, sickly

2.48 CeCooC

This is a pattern of nominal forms, not occurring as an adjectival pattern. (See the section on adjectives, 13 ff.)

2.49 The pattern /CeCooC/ can occasionally be found as the M equivalent of the Ar pattern /CvCaaC/, as:-

/Heroom/	taboo (cf. Ar /Haraam/)
/Hesoob/	reckoning (cf. Ar /Hisaab/)
/ketoob/	amulet; something written (cf. Ar /kitaab/)
/Keyoos/	proportion (cf. Ar /Kiyaas/)
/seHoob/	rain cloud (cf. Ar /siHaab/)

2.50 The following nominal forms however, are clearly not modified borrowings from Ar:-

/behoor/	measure
/dehoom/	heat-haze
/gešoor/	side of the chest
/Heroož/	acacia
/Kehoof/	stony ground
/šerook/	side (of a living being)
/šexoof/	fresh milk
/TeHooB/	herd of about twenty camels
/xešoob/	whetstone

2.51 CeGuuC

This nominal pattern occurs less frequently than the pattern /CeCooC/ discussed above.

2.52 As with the long vowels /ee/ and /ii/, the long vowels /oo/ and /uu/ are phonetically very close, but are realised differently on affixation. (See Phonology 1.19 ). A minimal pair can thus be distinguished:-

<u>CeCooC</u>	/xeroob/	ruin (/axerabya, axerabha/, my, his ruin)
<u>CeGuuC</u>	/xeruub/	hot summer wind from the west (/axerawbi, axerawbeh/, my, his hot summer wind)

2.53 Other nominal forms of the pattern /CeGuuC/ are given below:-

/6aasuum/	heap, pile
/6aa\$uur/	tax, customs duty
/Geyuur/	something harmful
/henuud/	drowsiness
/Hebuur/	cold, coldness
/KeruuS/	biting insect
/xeluuy/	divorce

2.54 It is of interest that nominal forms of both the patterns /CeCooC/ and /CeGuuC/ commonly have a plural form of the external plural pattern /GvCCiin/. (See External Plural Patterns, 7.3)

CeCayC and CeCawC

2.55

CeCayC

This is a very common adjectival pattern, the majority of adjectives in the sample being of this pattern. Some examples are given below:-

/6aarayʒ/	broad (cf. /6aarʒ/, breadth)
/berayk/	blessed (cf. /berekeet/, blessing)
/GelayD/	fat (cf. /GewDayn/, fatness)
/Heṣaym/	noble, respectable (cf. /Heṣemeet/, nobility, respectability)
/negays/	unclean (cf. /negeseet/, pollution, uncleanliness)
	etc. (See the section on adjectives 13.4 ff.)

2.56

/CeCayC/ also functions as a nominal pattern corresponding to the Ar nominal pattern /CaCiic/, as:-

/6aagayn/	dough, paste (cf. Ar /9agiin/)
/Helayf/	ally (cf. Ar /Haliif/)
/kefayl/	sponsor (cf. Ar /kafiil/)
/Kemays/	shirt (cf. Ar /Kamiis/)
/Ṣerayf/	noble, a <u>seyyid</u> (cf. Ar /Ṣariif/)
/TeHayn/	flour (cf. Ar /TaHiin/)
/wekayl/	agent (cf. Ar /wakiil/)
/wezayr/	minister (cf. Ar /waziir/)



- 2.57 Nominal forms of the pattern /CeCayC/ not borrowed from  
Ar occur freely throughout the sample, however, as:-

/be9ayr/	male camel
/ferayz/	she-camel up to two years of age
/Gedayl/	bundle, load
/HeSayr/	mat
/KeHayf/	coconut-shell cup
/neSayl/	barley
/Semayl/	club; big, strong man
/šeGayb/	stranger
/šeHayr/	mountain, mountains
/šenayf/	corner
/terayd/	kind of porridge
/weTayb/	red-dyed leather
	etc.

- 2.58 Examples of forms of the pattern /CeCayC/ are rare in  
Jahn's collection. Forms of the pattern /CeCayC/ as given here  
appear in Jahn (where the comparison can be made) as /CvCC/ or  
/CvCvvC/, as:-

<u>Jahn</u>	/beyr/	male camel
<u>Jahn</u>	/KaHf/	coconut-shell cup
<u>Jahn</u>	/wukeel/	agent
<u>Jahn</u>	/wuziir/	minister
		etc.

2.59

CeCawC

This pattern occurs infrequently. It is not clear from the limited examples whether the diphthong of the second syllable is a conditioned variant of /uu/. The following examples are nominal:-

/6aamawd/	ceiling; beam
/Kehawr/	she camel with grown up offspring

2,60

/CeCawC/ can also occur as an adjectival pattern, as:-

/hezawr/	green
----------	-------

CewaaCaaC, CeCaaCeeC and CeCaaGooC

These patterns occur only in diminutive\* forms. Thus:-

2.61	<u>CewaaCaaC</u>	/dewaaraa/	from	/doore6/	blood
		/fewaaKaa/	from	/fooKa/	rain pool
		/gewaabaar/	from	/geeber/	vulva
		/HewaaTaar/	from	/HooTer/	2/3 month old kid
		/zewaagaa/	from	/zayga/	pen, enclosure

2.62 With quadriliterals (see 4 ff. ) the pattern is  
/CeCaaCeeC/, as:-

/zenaabeel/ from /zenbiil/ long date basket

2.63 CeCaaGooC

This is the pattern of diminutives of forms with final  
geminate radicals, as:-

/megaaroor/ from /megreer/ beehive

\* See T. M. Johnstone Diminutive Patterns in the Modern  
South Arabian Languages. J. S. S. 18,1. 1973. pp. 98-107

2.64 CeGwvvC and CeCyvvC

Forms of this pattern with an infixed /w/ or /y/,  
 though common as plural <sup>adjectival</sup> forms, are rare in the singular, being  
 confined to forms with C<sup>2</sup> and C<sup>3</sup> identical, or to forms with  
 medial guttural consonants. Thus:-

<u>CeGwuuC</u>	/zerwuur/	saliva dribbling from the corners of the mouth
<u>CeGwiiC</u>	/redwiid/	nit
	/Selwiil/	ravine
<u>CeCyiiC</u>	/KeSyiib/	grass growing after rain
<u>CeCyooC</u>	/DeHyool/	urine
	/KeHyoor/	food left over in a dish
<u>CeCyuuC</u>	/behyuuk/	having depigmented patches on the skin
	/Hešyuus/	with all the bones smashed

## 2.65

It is of interest that J also shows this added semi-vowel (though on the whole /y/ is not realised in J as a consonant except in limited circumstances). Thus:-

J	/behyoK/	having depigmented patches on the skin
J	/DeHyol/	urine

J /KaHyor/

food left over in a dish

2.66

Similar forms with an infix /y/, /w/ are not attested  
in Jahn.

TRI - L I T E R A L   P A T T E R N S   W I T H   D O U B L I N G  
      O F    C <sup>2</sup>

Geminate C<sup>2</sup>

2.67      /CeC<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>ooC/

This pattern can indicate those following certain occupations, or having certain abilities. Thus:-

/beHHoor/	sailor
/bennooy/ or /mennooy/	builder
/gemmool/	camel man
/Heddood/	blacksmith
/Heggoog/	man who has been on the <u>Hajj</u>
/Kewwool/	improviser of poetry, poet
/lebbood/	good shot
/reggooz/	poet
/Seyyood/	fisherman
/zeggood/	camel thief

2.68      Similar forms are common in Jahn's sample, as:-

<u>Jahn</u>	/HaJJoom/	blood-cupper, leach
<u>Jahn</u>	/HaTTtoob/	wood collector
<u>Jahn</u>	/jawwaaß/	brave man, fighter
<u>Jahn</u>	/KaSSood/	poet
<u>Jahn</u>	/neKKoof/	incense collector

<u>Jahn</u>	/seyyoof/	swordsman
<u>Jahn</u>	/warrood/	water carrier
		etc.

- 2.69 This pattern with a final /i/ occasionally has an intensive function, as:-

/xeddoomi/	a good, industrious worker (from /xedoom/, to work)
------------	--

Compare also /feD(D)awli/, scrounger, and Jahn /baTTooli/, useless fellow.

- 2.70 This pattern followed by a short /i/ vowel is comparable to the J /i/ ending which is common in this pattern, as:-

J /Sebbadi/	fisherman
-------------	-----------

- 2.71 Compare also the following nominal forms of this pattern, not connected with occupations:-

/dekkoon/	shop
/Kerrob/	nocturnal bogey
/neGGoor/	stork (compare <u>Jahn</u> /naGoor/, turkeyhen, and /noKKoor/, stork)

Compare also Jahn /kettoon/ bug  
Jahn /Saffuur/ elephantiasis

2.72

CeC<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>uuC

This is a rare pattern. The attested examples are given below:-

/Hennuuk/	palate and uvula
/kemmauur/	honey badger
/tennuur/	oven
/temmuur/	name of the shrub whose resin is gum Arabic.



P A T T E R N S   W I T H   A   V O C A L I C   P R E F I XeCCvvC

2.73

eCCeeC

/eCCeeC/ is the pattern of the elative, as:-

/ekteer/	from /keeter/	much; amount
/esheel/	from /seehel/	easy

2.74

It is of interest that where  $C^2$  is a geminate radical, the pattern of the elative is still /eCCeeC/, as:-

/exfeef/	from /xefayf/	light
----------	---------------	-------

2.75

eCCaaC

Where  $C^2$  is a glottalized <sup>or a guttural</sup> consonant, the pattern of the elative is /eCCaaC/, as:-

/6aaKaar/	from /6aaKer/	size
/eKSaar/	from /KeSayr/	short
/erHaam/	from /reHaym/	beautiful

2.76

The patterns /eCCaaC/, /eCCeeC/, /eCCayC/, /eCCooC/, with a vocalic prefix also occur in place of /CeCaaC/, /CeCeeC/, /CeCayC/, /CeCooC/, where  $C^1$  is /l/, /m/, /n/ and /r/. (See Phonology 1.103 ) The pattern is, however, not stable where  $C^1$  is /m/ or /n/, as:-

/emdeed/	or /medeed/	ready money
/enSayl/	or /neSayl/	barley

2.77 With C<sup>1</sup> /r/ and C<sup>3</sup> (an earlier) /w/ or /y/, the vocalic prefix is more stable, as:-

/erHaa/	handmill
/eryee6/	lung
/erzaa/	agreement

2.78 With C<sup>1</sup> /l/, however, the vocalic prefix invariably occurs, as:-

/ewboon/	white (/lbn/)
/ewxaym/	shark (/lxm/)
	etc. (See 1.103)

S U F F I X E D   P A T T E R N S2.79      CeCCee6

This is a rare pattern possibly comparable to the Ar  
/fu9laa6/. Thus:-

/neKlee6/	choice (livestock)
/reżwee6/	wish

## 2.80      Compare also the variant

/Gež(e)raa6/	slime
--------------	-------

in which the final /r/ of the root modifies the quality of the  
following vowel. (See Phonology 1.9)

2.81 CeCCay, CeCeCay

It is arguable that these are not two separate patterns, but that the short /e/ vowel of the second syllable in /CeCeCay/ is a euphonic vowel only. In M, however, it is often not possible to distinguish clearly anaptyctic from euphonic (non-anaptyctic) vowels. (See Phonology 1.124)

2.82 This pattern is the pattern of relative adjectives, the suffix being comparable with the Ar nisbah suffix /-iyy/. Thus:-

<u>CeCCay</u>	/6ensay/	human
	/Gebray/	demon
	/Hebsay/	Ethiopian
	/Hersay/	Harsusi
	/mehray/	Mahri
	/seHray/	mountain man
	/xentay/	front teats of the camel udder
<u>CeCeCay</u>	/6aazebay/	staying alone
	/bedeway/	bedouin
	/fexeray/	arrogant

Compare also:-

/Haawelay/	ancient
------------	---------

where the initial pharyngal radical has altered the length of

the following vowel (see Phonology 1.100). The following form  
is also comparable:-

/Hawkebay/                      back teats of the camel udder

2.83                      Compare also the comparable pattern in Jahn, where the  
suffix is /ii/, as:-

<u>Jahn</u>	/ansii/	human
<u>Jahn</u>	/bedwii/	bedouin
<u>Jahn</u>	/mehrii/	Mahri

2.84

CeCCayn

This is not a common pattern, occurring where C<sup>3</sup> is a pharyngal or a glottalized consonant, as:-

/beDHayn/	edible tuber
/GewDayn/	obesity
/KelHayn/	mussel
/ʒelʁayn/	gècko

2.85

CeCCeen

This pattern as the above, is a rare one. The attested examples are given below:-

/Giibeenn/	epilipsy; fainting fit
/Giigeenn/	small boy
/Sewfeenn/	dead nāt

2.86

Forms of these two patterns commonly have plural forms in which the /n/ of the singular is explicit. However, since this does not invariably happen (as, for instance, /beeDeH/, edible tubers), and since the root of the forms derived from verbs have no /n/ radical (as, for instance, /Gyb/, to faint, and /Gyg/, to bear young), these forms are considered as affixed tri-radical forms, and not as quadri-radicals.

2.87

Ge CooCi

This rare pattern is confined to forms borrowed from  
Ar, modified to some extent by M phonology, as:-

/SedooKi/

credulous

/xeDoori/

vegetables (cf. Jahn, where  
/xaDoorii/, vegetables, is the  
plural of the singular form  
/xaDeraat/)

2.88

CeCCoona

This is the pattern of the masculine form of the active participle of the simple verb, of which the feminine form is /CeCCiita/. (See Participial Patterns 12.4 ff.) Thus:-

/ketboona/ from /ketuub/ to write  
etc. (See 12.4)



3. S I N G U L A R   T R I - R A D I C A L   P A T T E R N S

W I T H

F E M I N I N E   M A R K E R S

F E M I N I N E   M A R K E R S   O F  
S I N G U L A R   F O R M S

3.1    The feminine markers of singular forms in M are as follows:-

- /-et/      (and /-t/ in certain limited circumstances)
- /-eet/     (and its conditioned variant /-aat/)
- /-iit/     (and its conditioned variant /-ayt/)
- /-oot/
- /-uut/     (and its conditioned variant /-awt/)
- /-eh/      (this is a rare feminine marker)
- (/-iita/    see Participial Patterns, 12.4 ff.)

3.2 CvCCvvt

The pattern /CvCCvvt/ is an extremely common pattern, being one of the five most commonly occurring patterns for all singular forms. It is related to the pattern /CvCvCvvt/, where the short vowel of the second syllable can often be euphonic (see Phonology 1.12<sup>4</sup>). This sort of overlap tends to occur frequently between the base patterns /CvCC/ and /CvCvC/. However, on occasion this short /e/ vowel of the second syllable can be the means of distinguishing a minimal pair, as:-

	/berkeet/	a pool
as against	/berekeet/	a blessing

3.3 Compare also Jahn:-

<u>Jahn</u>	/xademiit/	maid
<u>Jahn</u>	/xademeet/	job of work

3.4 CeCCeet and CeCCiit

As discussed elsewhere (see 1.13), the long vowels /ee/ and /ii/ are phonetically close, and it is often difficult in forms with the feminine marker /-vvt/ to distinguish between /-eet/ and /-iit/. However, the suffixed forms are different. Thus:-

/genbiit/	camel that rejects its calf
-----------	-----------------------------

/agenbayti/

my camel that rejects its calf

/agenbeth/

his camel that rejects its calf

as against:-

/genbeet/

side; pleurisy

/agenbeeti/

my side; pleurisy

/agenbath/

his side; pleurisy

## 3.5

CeCCaat

This pattern with the long /aa/ vowel is a conditioned variant of the pattern /CeCCeet/ (q.v. below), occurring when C<sup>3</sup> is a glottalized, pharyngeal, guttural or voiced lateral consonant.

Thus:-

C <sup>3</sup> glottalized	/feTTaat/	pimple, itchy spot
	/GefKaat/	difficulty
	/HeKKaat/	tin cup
	/HewKaat/	circle, ring (/HlK/)
	/HeTTaat/	piece, bit (cf. <u>Jahn</u> , where /HaTaaT/ is the plural form of the singular form /HaTToot/)
	/KeSSaat/	hairline; edge
	/mehSaat/	shallow well
	/neKTaat/	mole, freckle
	/rebTaat/	bandage
	/rexSaat/	leave
	/ʃeKKaat/	body-wrapping, sari
	/werKaat/	piece of paper
	/xewKaat/	mole, pimple (/xlK/)
	/ʒerTaat/	fart

C<sup>3</sup> (an earlier) pharyngeal

/gelaat/	date stone (/gl9/)
/geʂaat/	belch (/gs9/)
/reKaat/	patch, rag (/rk9/)

C <sup>3</sup> guttural	/ferHaat/	happiness
	/feʒHaat/	scandal
	/melHaat/	salt
	/serGaas/	physical desire
	/merGaas/	dust
	/remHaat/	spear
	/sebxaat/	sand sprinkled on a cleaned surface
	/SeHHaat/	health
C <sup>3</sup> voiced lateral	/ferʒaat/	harbour
	/Kerʒaat/	loan

3.6 CeCCaat is also the pattern of forms with final geminate  
/r/, as:-

/derraat/	shirt
/ferraat/	unripe fruit
/merraat/	gall, gallbladder; courage
/ʒerraat/	spark

(See Phonology 1.8)

## 3.7

CeCCeet

This pattern occurs frequently as a verb-derived noun, as:-

/hegmeet/	(from /heguum/, to attack)	attack
/kewteet/	(from /keluut/, to talk)	story, story-telling
/mesyeet/	(from /amoosi/, to kiss)	kiss
/regfeet/	(from /reguuf/, to shiver)	fever, shivering
/xedmeet/	(from /xeduum/, to work)	work, service

## 3.8

It is also occasionally the pattern of the singulative of a collective noun, as:-

/noobeet/	a bee (/nwb/)
-----------	---------------

Compare the form given below with medial /w/, where the pattern is realised as /CeCeet/:-

/t <sub>e</sub> meet/	a clove of garlic (/t <sub>w</sub> m/)
-----------------------	--

3.9 It is commonly the pattern for parts and conditions of the body, as:-

/denyeet/	pregnant (f.s.)
/dexmeet/	flatulence
/genbeet/	pleurisy; side
/HeSbeet/	measles
/kefseet/	shortness of breath
/kaaleet/	swollen testicle (/K9l/)
/nefzeet/	cut on the foot.
/sehweet/	physical desire
/seryeet/	fat surrounding the kidneys
/wegneet/	cheekbone

3.10 Some other miscellaneous examples are given below:-

/gendeet/	cut tree trunk
/Hegreet/	gathering of people
/Het <sub>e</sub> meet/	kind of grass
/Kebleet/	the <u>Qiblah</u>
/Kehweet/	coffee
/KeHbeet/	whore



/Ke <sup>s</sup> beet/	crowd of people, camels
/leGweet/	nonsense
/remleet/	sand
/rezfeet/	10/15 people
/reHbeet/	a town
/semreet/	deafening noise
/xelweet/	children's tunnel in the sand
/xezneet/	treasury

3.11            /CeCCeet/ is also a common pattern for nominal forms  
from geminate roots, as:-

/deffeet/	body
/dekkeet/	stone bench outside the door
/delle <sup>e</sup> t/	coffee pot
/denneet/	reverberation
/felleet/	a notch in a knife
/ge <sup>s</sup> s <sup>s</sup> eeet/	body, corpse
/Gebbeet/	depths of the sea
/Geddeet/	influenza
/Gelleet/	mist
/Hebbeet/	clitoris; pill
/Helleet/	dry leaf
/kemmeet/	skull cap
/Keffeet/	rush mat
/Kelleet/	hilt
/Kesseet/	story

3.12      GeCCiit

Forms of this pattern are less common than forms of the pattern /CeCCeet/ discussed above (q.v. 3.5 ff.). Like /CeCCeet/ it is a common pattern for parts and conditions of the body. Thus:-

/6awziit/	nausea (/91z/)
/6aaʒdiit/	upper arm
/berwiit/	split in a fold of flesh
/kelyiit/	kidney
/leHyiit/	beard
/temriit/	earlobe; pendant earring
/werkiit/	hip
/xersiit/	space between the teeth

## 3.13      It can also occur as the pattern of singulatives, as:-

/6aarfiit/	a palm leaf
/nexliit/	a palm tree (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /nexleet/ and /nexliit/)
/sefiit/	a hair (/ʃff/)
/tliwiit/	a sheep
/zerfiit/	a berry (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /zerfeet/, mountain abyss, chasm and /zarfiit/, large stone)

## 3.14      /GeCCiit/ occurs as the pattern of the feminine of the species, as:-

/Hemsiit/	female turtle (/Hoomes/, male turtle)
-----------	---------------------------------------

/kewbiit/	she-wolf (/koob/, wolf) (/klb/)
/re9yiit/	female goat-herd (/ree9i/, herdsman)
/ʒebbiit/	female monitor lizard (/ʒoob/, male monitor lizard)

## 3.15

Some other miscellaneous examples are given below:-

/6aars̥iit/	nest; palm-leaf hut
/geHliit/	jar
/kebriit/	sulphur
/Keʂniit/	thicket
/KeTfiit/	snip cut from the ear of live-stock as a marker
/laatiit/	skink (/l9t/)
/ne6iit/	udder (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /naa6iit/)
/regliit/	noose
/riidiit/	field
/SeHliit/	basin
/xeʂfiit/	bored hole; kind of grass

## 3.16

The pattern /CeCCiit/ is realised as /CeCCayt/ in adjectival (see 13.26 ) and nominal forms where C<sup>3</sup> is a guttural, glottalized or a voiced lateral consonant. Some nominal examples are given below:-

/6awKayt/	small water-worm (/9lK/)
/HebDayt/	name of a bush
/Herʒayt/	kind of tree

/merDayt/	instructions
/reKSayt/	good grazing
/šeržayt/	temples, hair of the temples

3.17

Where  $C^2$  is a semi-vowel /y/ and  $C^3$  a glottalized consonant, the pattern is realised as /CeeCayt/, as:-

/beeDayt/	egg (/byD/)
/xeeSayt/	small wild palm tree (/xyS/)
/xeeTayt/	thread (/xyT/)

3.18 CeCCoot and CeCCuut

Like the patterns discussed above (q.v. 3.4) the long vowels of the feminine markers of these two patterns are difficult to distinguish in their base form, but again the suffixed forms are different. Thus:-

/KedhuuT/	tree (a kind of tree from whose resin a depilatory is made)
/Kedhawti/	my tree
/Kedhawteh/	his tree

as against:

/heSKoot/	hobble
/heSKooti/	my hobble
/heSKath/	his hobble

3.19 CeCCoot

Like the pattern /CeCeCoot/, forms of this pattern are extremely rare. The only other attested examples are given below:-

/meskoot/	Muscat
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3.20 With final /ɔ/, /w/ and /y/, the pattern is realised as /CeCoot/, as:-

/Heloot/	description (/Hlw/, /Hly/)
/šekoot/	thorn (/šk9/)
/teloot/	nipple (/tl9/)
/zekoot/	<u>zakaat</u> , alms (/zkw/, /zky/)

3.21 CeCCuut

Although forms of this pattern occur more commonly than forms of the pattern /CeCCoot/ above (q.v. 3.19) examples of forms of this pattern are not common. The attested examples are given in full:-

/genyuut/	female jinn (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /jinniyyet/)
/hedduut/	cradle
/Ke9yuut/	female earth spirit
/rebbuut/	groin
/rebtuut/	foam on milk
/šebhuut/	likeness (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /šebheet/, ugliness)

3.22 Compare also the following form with medial /w/, where the pattern is realised as /CeCuut/:-

/xeluut/	aunt, mother-in-law
----------	---------------------

CvCvCvvt

3.23

CeCeCaat

This is a rare pattern, and as it is not apparently a conditioned variant of /CeCeCeet/, a full list of attested examples is given. It is a purely nominal pattern. The long vowel /aa/ seems to be confined to forms with final /l/, /r/, /n/, /z/ radical, but examples occur where the long /ee/ vowel also follows these consonants. (See Phonology 1.5 ff.)

/feʒelaat/	left over food
/Geʒenaat/	compassion
/heʒeraat/	greenness
/meGeraat/	frankincense tree
/neSelaat/	sword blade
/reHeʒaat/	menstruation
/xeTeraat/	time, turn

3.24

Compare also Jahn:-

<u>Jahn</u>	/hazaraat/	dysentery
<u>Jahn</u>	/maGaraat/	frankincense tree

3.25 CeCeCeet

The overlap between this pattern /CeCeCeet/ and the pattern /CeCCeet/ has been noted elsewhere (see 3.2 above). The long /ee/ vowel of the feminine marker is distinguishable reliably from the /ii/ long vowel of the pattern /CeCeCiit/ discussed below (q.v. 3.30 ff) only on affixation. A minimal pair is distinguished thus:-

/segereet/	a sandgrouse
/segereeti/	my sandgrouse
/segerath/	his sandgrouse

as against:

/segeriit/	a mountain pass
/segerayti/	my mountain pass
/segereth/	his mountain pass

3.26 /CeCeCeet/ is an extremely common pattern. It occurs frequently as a verb-derived noun, as:-

/berekeet/ (from /aboorek/, to bless)	a blessing
/nedereet/ (from /neduur/, (baby) to drink milk)	milk put aside for children
/sefereet/ (from /soofer/, to travel)	a journey

3.27 It is also the common pattern of the singulative of collective nouns. Thus:-

/beKereet/	a cow
/beSeleet/	an onion



/bezereet/	a pepper
/gedereet/	a small insect
/gezeleet/	a slice, portion (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /jizeliit/, a kind of fish)
/HeSeleet/	a pebble
/Hezeweet/	a dandelion-like flower
/kezebeet/	a coconut
/KeSebeet/	a reed, cane
/sebeleet/	an ear of grain

3.28            /CeCeCeet/ is occasionally the pattern of the feminine adjective (see 13.24).

3.29    Other miscellaneous examples are given below:-

/6aazeleet/	leprosy
/fehedeet/	cow-sized night demon (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /fheedet/)
/gedeleet/	noose
/leseneet/	point (of a sword, etc.)
/nehedeet/	a watch of the night
/resebeet/	clay jar; tin vessel
/sebekeet/	net, web
/sexeleet/	filth
/webeleet/	plant name
/xeŋbeet/	non-motorised boat

3.30        CeCeCiit

Forms of this pattern are much less common than forms of the pattern /CeCeCeet/ discussed above (q.v. 3.25)

## 3.31        /CeCeCiit/ rarely functions as the pattern of verb-derived nouns, though some examples are attested, as:-

/neGeliit/ (from /anGaal/, to sweat)	sweat (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /nGaloot/)
/regeziit/ (from /reguuz/, to sing)	song, poem
/xeteniit/ (from /xetuun/, to circumcise)	circumcision

## 3.32        /CeCeCiit/ is occasionally the pattern of singulatives, as:-

/beheliit/	a word (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /behliit/)
/beseriit/	a date (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /besriit/)
/degeriit/	a bean
/Hebeliit/	a pod of the <u>Herooz</u> grass
/teferiit/	a piece of camel dung

## 3.33        Other miscellaneous examples are given below:-

/6aaberiiit/	vehicle, transport (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /abreet/, rough sea)
/6aaDemiiit/	back
/6aaKebiiit/	large bird
/Hefeliit/	ripe fruit
/Hegeliit/	naturally enclosed pasture

/ewbeniit/	whiteness (for /le-/ > /ew-/, see 1.103)
/mezeriit/	smell of rotten sweet potatoes
/ʰeferiit/	a vulgar gesture

3.34 CeCeCoot

A single example only was attested of this pattern:-

/tebeloot/                  uvula

and comparison with other M. S. A. languages suggests that this is in fact a form from a root with final /9/. Thus J /tebže9ot/ and B /tebel9aat/, from the root /bl9/, to swallow.

3.35 CeCeCwōot

This pattern with an infixed /w/ occurs rarely. The attested examples are nominal:-

/feGerwoot/	hollow beneath the Adam's apple
/geleHwoot/	eyeball
/seberwoot/	Euphorbia

However, since in two of the examples the /w/ is retained in the plural form (/gelHaw/ and /feGoorew/), these are perhaps better considered as quadriradicals (see 4 ff.).

3.36

CeCeCuut

This is a rare pattern, and seems to be confined to forms with C<sup>3</sup> a nasal consonant. Thus:-

/Gegenuut/	girl (but cf. /Gezenaat/, compassion)
/kenemuut/	head louse (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /kenmiit/)
/rexemuut/	Egyptian vulture (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /raxmoot/)
/yetemuut/	female orphan

3.37

But compare:-

/ewKefuut/	quicksand (/lKf/) (for /le-/ > /ew-/, see 1.103)
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CvCCet3.38 CaCCet

The phonological rules governing this pattern are the same as those discussed in connection with the pattern /CvCC/ discussed above. (See 2.3 ff.) A few examples of forms of this pattern will suffice:-

## 3.39 Medial semi-vowels

Medial /y/	/dayret/	compass
	/Haylet/	cunning, stratagem
	/laylet/	night
	/zaymet/	shortage of milk
Medial /w/	/fawTet/	coloured waistcloth
	/hawret/	rainless period
	/HawTeT/	sinful thing, action
	/lawKet/	bottle, container with a cup
	/mawget/	wave

3.40 Forms with a medial /y/ radical can be realised as  
/CeCet/, as:-

/gedet/	good (f.s.)
---------	-------------

3.41 C<sup>1</sup> glottalized or guttural consonant

/Hafyet/	barefoot (f.s.)
/KamHet/	bad (f.s.)
/SayGet/	ornament

3.42 C<sup>2</sup>, C<sup>3</sup> geminate

/Kannet/	small (compare <u>Jahn</u> /Kannett/
/ʁaddet/	island in a valley
/ʒabbet/	sound, noise

3.43 CeCCet

Examples of forms of this pattern are rare. The three attested examples are given below:-

/ferGet/	joke, joking
/genyet/	sack
/wehnet/	shoulder blade

CvCCeh3.44      CaCCeh

This pattern is restricted to borrowings from OA, as:-

/ʃayleh/	shawl
/ʃamleh/	cloak, woollen wrapping
/ʃanteh/	case, baggage
/tawreh/	rebellion



GvvGet

3.45

GooGet

This pattern is restricted to forms with medial /w/, as:-

/6oodet/                  custom

/Gooret/                  raid

/Hooget/                  need

CvvCeh

3.46

CiiCeh

This is a rare pattern (and presumably borrowed from Arabic). It is restricted to forms with medial /y/, as:-

/diireh/

a game like tag

CvCvCet

3.47

CeCeCet

This is a rare pattern, occurring only in the feminine adjectival form of the masculine adjectival patterns /CeCiiC/ and /CeCayC/ (see 13.4, 13.15). Where C<sup>3</sup> is a voiceless fricative /s/ or /f/ consonant, the pattern is realised as /CeCeCt/. (See Phonology 1.119 and Adjectival Patterns 13.21.)

3.48

Compare Jahn /KaTaft/ carpet

where a nominal form of this pattern occurs. Compare also forms such as:-

<u>Jahn</u>	/sift/	sea-shore
<u>Jahn</u>	/sust/	worm, grub, maggot
<u>Jahn</u>	/ʒiʒt/	sand; hour glass
<u>Jahn</u>	/Tast/	cup

where the feminine marker is likewise reduced to /-t/ after final /s/ and /ʒ/ and /f/ radicals.

3.49      GeCayGet

Nominal forms of this pattern occur rarely as the M equivalent of the Ar nominal pattern /CaCiiCat/. Thus:-

/deKayKet/	minute (cf. Ar /daKiiKat/)
/gezayret/	island (cf. Ar /jaziirat/, and <u>Jahn</u> /jeziiret/)

3.50      Forms of this pattern occur most commonly in feminine adjectival forms of the masculine adjectival pattern, as:-

/bexaylet/	mean, grasping (f.s., m.s. /bexayl/)
/dewaylet/	old, worn out (f.s., m.s. /dewayl/)
	etc. (See <i>Adjectives</i> 13 ff)

3.51      Compare with final /w/ or /y/, where the pattern is realised as /CeCayyet/:-

/derayyet/	offspring
/Kewayyet/	cruel, strong (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Kawiiyyet/)
/Kežayyet/	compensation, revenge
/meTayyet/	mount
/xelayyet/	empty (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /xaliiyyet/)

CvCvvCet

3.52

CeCeeCet

This pattern occurs rarely nominally, as:-

/fereeGet/                      very cold weather

but is occasionally the pattern of the feminine adjectival  
form of the masculine adjectival pattern /CeCayC/ or /CeCeeC/,  
as:-

/Geleezet/                      solid (f.s.)

/seewet/                      transparent (f.s.)

3.53

CeCooGet

A number of forms of this pattern would seem on comparative grounds to be equivalent to the Ar nominal pattern /CvCaaCat/, modified in accordance with M phonology. Thus:-

/degooget/	chicken (cf. Ar /dajaaat/)
/deloolet/	directions (cf. Ar /dalaalat/)
/genoozet/	bier (cf. Ar /jinaazat/, /janaazat/)
/seloomet/	peace (cf. Ar /salaamat/)
/sehoodet/	testimony (cf. Ar /šahaadat/)
/keyoonet/	treachery, rebellion (cf. Ar /xiyaanat/)
/kezoonet/	magazine of a gun (cf. Ar /xizaanat/)

3.54

Other forms of this pattern occur where there is no comparable Ar form, or where the comparable form occurs within a different semantic context. Thus:-

/beSooret/	story, moral (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /bSooret/, stratagem, ruse)
/Hegoolet/	iron bracelet
/letoomet/	muzzle of a rifle
/reHoomet/	good looks, character
/sefoolet/	driftwood
/xesoorret/	bride price

3.55

CeCawCet

Examples of this pattern are rare. However, the examples attested do not suggest that the /aw/ diphthong is a conditioned variant of a long /uu/ vowel:-

/Hekawmet/

government

/xerawKet merawKet/

children's game

3.56 GeCCayyet

This pattern occurs as the feminine of the masculine pattern /GeCCāy/ discussed above (see 2.81 ), related to the Ar nisbah with the /iyy/ masculine suffix and /iiyat/ feminine suffix. Some examples are given below:-

/Hebsayyet/	Ethiopian (woman)
/Hersayyet/	Harsuusi (woman)
/mehrāyyet/	Mahri (woman) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mehriyyoot/, Mahri (woman), and /mehriyyet/ or /mehriyyoot/, the Mahri language)
/šeHrayyet/	mountain (woman)

## 3.57 Compare also:-

/6aar(e)bayyet/	Arab (woman), the Arabic language
/fekrayyet/	thought
/Hezmāyyet/	dark coloured she-camel

## 3.58 Compare the adjectival form:-

/Haawelayyet/	ancient
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## 3.59 and the quadriliteral nominal form:-

/6aaskerayyet/	guard
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3.60

CeCCiita

This is the pattern of the feminine active participial form of the simple verb (of which the masculine is /CeCCoona/),  
as:-

/netkiita/from /netk/, to bite

/tefliita/

from /tefuul/, to spit

etc. (See Participial Patterns  
12.4 ff.)

3.61

CaCGaanoot

This pattern occurs only in diminutive forms.\* Thus:-

/6iidaanoot/	from	/Heydeen/	ear
/fewTaanoot/	from	/fawTet/	coloured waistcloth
/geHmaanoot/	from	/geHmeet/	beetle
/Hedgaanoot/	from	/Hedgeet/	ball of dates
/Hermaanoot/	from	/Hermeet/	widow; poor woman
/kemzaanoot/	from	/kemzeet/	ball of dates
/xewfaanoot/	from	/xewfeet/	window
/zefraanoot/	from	/zefiir/	lock, tress of hair

3.62

Where the vowel of the first syllable is lengthened, after an initial glottal stop (see 1.70 ff.), an anaptyctic vowel can occur between  $C^2$  and  $C^3$ , the pattern then being realised as /CaaCeCaanoot/, as:-

/6aaKebaanoot/	from	/6aaKaab/	large bird
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\* See T. M. Johnstone "Diminutive patterns in the Modern South Arabian Languages". J. S. S. 18,1. 1973. pp. 98-107

3.63

CeweGaaCoot

This pattern occurs only in diminutive patterns,\* as:-

/feweHaaloot/ from /feeHel/, penis

/keweraasoot/ from /keeres/, belly

/Keweraadoot/ from /Kaard/, throat

\* See T. M. Johnstone "Diminutive patterns in the Modern South Arabian Languages". J. S. S. 18,1. 1973. pp. 98-107

4.        S I N G U L A R   A N D   P L U R A L  
          Q U A D R I L I T E R A L   P A T T E R N S

#### 4.1 QUADRILITERAL SINGULAR PATTERNS

Quadriliteral forms occur relatively frequently in M. It is of interest that roughly half of the attested examples have /r/ as  $C^2$  or  $C^3$ , and roughly a third have /n/ as  $C^2$  or  $C^3$ .

4.2 Forms are here considered as quadriliterals when they have:-

Four differing radicals  
Reduplicated geminate radicals  
Reduplicated  $C^2$  radical  
Reduplicated  $C^3$  radical

4.3 The first two types of quadriliteral forms occur most frequently, the last two occurring rarely.

#### 4.4 Quadriliteral singular patterns with four differing radicals

The majority of these are of the pattern /CvCCvvC/, the long vowel of the second syllable being more commonly /ii/, though /ee/ is also quite common.

CvCCvvC

4.5

CeCCiiC

Examples of forms of this pattern are given below:-

/6iidbiir/	hornet
/6aambiir/	ambergris
/6aaʂfiir/	cowrie shell
/berdiig/	rag
/bermiil/	40 gallon drum
/dehriiz/	room
/deHliil/	cave
/derHiis/	one-year-old female kid
/dexʂiir/	lair
/fermiil/	foal
/gerdiis/	desert plain
/gerdiin/	rat
/Germiiz/	small fruit bush
/kensiid/	top of the shoulder
/Kermiis/	gear, equipment
/ʂendiir/	splinter
/tebriiK/	parti-coloured sheep
/xenziir/	pig
/zenbiil/	basket

4.6

The pattern is realised as /CeCCayC/ where C<sup>3</sup> is a glottalized or a guttural consonant, as:-

/6aarKayb/	mouse
/ferhayn/	mare
/GerSayn/	joint
/Telhaym/	spleen

- 4.7                      However, compare the following, where the diphthong occurs after C<sup>3</sup>:-

/6eblays/	devil
/ewftayn/	stinging ant (/lftn/) (for /le-/ > /ew-/ see 1.104)

4.8                      CeCCeeC

Examples of forms of this pattern occur less frequently than those of the pattern described above. Some examples are given below:-

/6aagreez/	testicle
/6aardeeb/	nape of the neck
/6aaskeer/	guard, soldier
/fermeel/	lateen yard
/gendeel/	camel with little milk
/Hegleem/	kind of grass
/kenbee6/	heel
/kerkeem/	yellow dye
/mendeer/	harbour
/yemleex/	kind of edible fruit

- 4.9                      Conditioned variants with long /aa/ occur, as:-

/terKaaʒ/	spotted goat
/xeTraaK/	stick

4.10 GeCCooC

The two examples of forms of this pattern are both Mehrized Ar, the /a/, /aa/ of the Ar being realised as /oo/ in M (see 1.26,2.17). Thus:-

/deftoor/	book, notebook (cf. Ar /daftar/)
/fiigoon/	coffee cup (cf. Ar /fingaan/)

4.11 GeCCawC

/GeCCawC/ occurs in Mehrized Ar forms where the diphthong /aw/ of the second syllable replaces Ar /uu/ (see 1.27)

Thus:-

/faynaws/	lamp (cf. Ar /faanuus/)
/sendawK/	box, chest (cf. Ar /Sunduuk/)

## 4.12 However, compare the following form:-

/mendawK/ or /bendawK/	rifle (OA /bunduk/)
------------------------	---------------------

where the /aw/ of the M form replaces Ar short /u/.

4.13 GeCCuuC

A single example was attested of a quadrilateral form of this pattern, namely:-

/kenduul/	offal cooked and served first as a delicacy
-----------	---



CvCvCayC

4.14

GeGeCayC

This is not a common pattern, and seems to occur where an affix is involved, as:-

/teberayn/	hyena (sc. /tbr+n/)
/yegeyayd/	mouse (sc. /y+grd/. Cf. the plural form /Haagerood/)
/yeGerayb/	crow (sc. /y+Grb/)

It may be, however, that the vowel of the second syllable is euphonic, and does not represent an original short vowel (cf. e.g. /ferhayn/, mare, etc. above). It is of note that C<sup>3</sup> of the forms above is in all cases /r/, after which consonant /ii/ is frequently realised as /ay/ (see 1.34).

4.15

CvCCvC

Three examples only were attested of forms of this pattern, viz.:-

/darzen/	dozen
/melHaw/	jaw
/rawrem/	sea

4.16      Quadriliteral forms with four differing radicals and feminine markers

The majority of quadriliteral forms with feminine markers are of the patterns /CeCCeCvvt/ and /CeCeCCvvt/, many of the latter with /-woot/.

4.17      CeCCeCvvt

The vowelting of the feminine suffix is usually /-uut/.

Thus:-

/6abseluut/	something red, light coloured
/fendeluut/	sweet potato
/gerdefuut/	small lizard
/HelKemuut/	Adam's apple
/Hežremuut/	the Ḥaḍramaut
/keršeduut/	knobbed club

4.18      Compare with C<sup>3</sup> (earlier) /9/:-

/tewaaluut/	worm (cf. J /teb9alot/)
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4.19      CeCeCCvvt

The vowelting of the feminine suffix is usually /-oot/.

Thus:-

/fegerwoot/	hollow beneath the Adam's apple
/feKelwoot/	fruit, fruit bush
/feSerwoot/	caul (animal)

/seberwoot/	Euphorbia
/SefelHoot/	abalone
/SeGewfoot/	ear-lobe

4.20 Compare with C<sup>4</sup> (earlier) /9/:-

/tebeloot/	uvula (cf. J /tebze'9ot/, and B /tebel9aat/)
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4.21 Forms of the same pattern with /ee/ vowel in the feminine suffix occur less frequently than those discussed above. Some examples are given below:-

4.22	<u>CeCCeCeet</u>	
	/fenxereet/	nostril

4.23	<u>CeCeCCeet</u>	
	/SeGaafeet/	leaf (/SGlf/)
	/xežergeet/	nonsense

4.24 A few forms of patterns with the feminine marker /-et/ occur, as:-

4.25	<u>CaCCeCet</u>	
	/jawheret/	jewel

The following form is comparable:-

/jenbayyet/	<u>xanjar</u> , curved dagger
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4.26	<u>CeCaCCet</u>	
	/feraslet/	28 <u>ratl</u> weight

4.27 Quadriliteral forms with reduplicated geminate radicalsCvCCvC

The pattern that most commonly occurs is /CeCCiiC/.

Thus:-

/degdiig/	kind of grasshopper
/derdiir/	flea
/fewfiil/	pepper (/flfl/)
/ferfiir/	short tempered person
/kebkiib/	star
/reGriiG/	soft sand
/ʕebʕiib/	water worm

4.28 The long vowel /ii/ can be, but is not always, realised as /ay/ in the contiguity of glottalized and guttural consonants, as:-

/GerGayr/	bubbles
/HedHayd/	sand dune
/reKrayK/	good cultivable soil (but cf. /reGriiG/, soft sand, above)

4.29 CeCCeeC

The pattern with long /ee/ in the second syllable occurs infrequently. The attested examples are given below:-

/fedfeed/	ringworm, scabies
/kemkeem/	woman's headcloth

4.30 CeCCooC

A single example of the pattern with long /oo/ was attested:-

/KerKoor/	fish trap
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4.31 Quadriliteral forms with reduplicated geminate radicals and feminine markers

Such forms are of the pattern /CeCCeCvvt/. The vowel of the feminine marker is /ee/ or /uu/. Thus:-

CvCCvCvvt

4.32 CeCCeCeet

/belbeleet/	trilling sound made by women
/sewseleet/	chain (/slsl/)

4.33 CeCCeCuut

/gemgemuut/	skull
/keškešuut/	burn, blister

4.34 Quadrilateral forms with reduplicated C<sup>2</sup>

Such forms occur infrequently. In forms with no feminine markers the pattern is /CeCCvvC/. The pattern /CeCCooC/ is usually descriptive of an occupation or skill (see 2.67 ff. ), but other nominal forms do occur, as:-

4.35	<u>CeCCGooC</u>	/Kerroob/	nocturnal demon
		/neGGoor/	stork

4.36	<u>CeCCuuC</u>	/Hemnuuk/	palate
		/kemmuur/	honey badger
		/ <u>tem</u> muur/	plant name

4.37 Quadrilateral forms with reduplicated C<sup>2</sup> and feminine markers

A few forms with duplicate C<sup>2</sup> with feminine markers /-t/, /-et/ and /-uut/ occur, as:-

4.38	<u>CeCCaCt</u>	/beTTaxT/	water melon
4.39	<u>CeCCeCuut</u>	/keTTebuut/	roughly carved doll
4.40	<u>CeCCooCet</u>	/seggoodet/	carpet
4.41	<u>CeCCawCet</u>	/HerrawKet/	cigarette ends
		/sennawret/	cat

4.42

Quadrilateral forms with reduplicated C<sup>3</sup>

Such forms occur more commonly than the forms with reduplicated C<sup>2</sup> discussed above. The most common pattern, as with other quadrilateral forms, is /CeCCiIC/. Thus:-

/6aatliil/	old clothes
/Hebriir/	dune
/kerfiif/	face
/Kefriir/	lip
/KeTfiif/	feather; wing
/KeTmiim/	butter
/nekfiif/	scab
/nexriir/	nose
/nexsiis/	bone of the nose
/Sefriir/	flower
/ʃefriir/	eyelash
/ʃetriir/	small rain pool

4.43

Forms occur where the long /ii/ vowel is realised as /ay/. This diphthongisation seems to occur where C<sup>2</sup> is a glottalized or a guttural consonant, but this is not consistent, as the comparative examples show:-

/deGrayr/	peak, summit, point (contrast /Hebriir/, dune, but see also /nexriir/, nose, above)
/deKlayl/	beak; peak (contrast /6aatliil/, old clothes, above)

/šeTrayr/      rag, strip of cloth (contrast /šetriir/,  
small rain pool, but see also /KeTfiif/,  
feather; wing, above)

/žeGrayr/      scream (contrast /Kefriir/, lip, but  
see also /nexriir/, nose, above)

Compare also the following form:-

/kermaym/      mountain

where the diphthong /ay/ occurs outside the context of guttural or  
glottalized consonants. Contrast also the form /KeTmiim/, butter,  
where the reduplicated radical is also /m/, where diphthongisation  
does not occur.

4.44

Quadriliteral forms with duplicated C<sup>3</sup> and feminine markers

Only two examples of such forms were attested, of the  
pattern /CeCeCCvvt/, as:-

/6aaKebboot/      tree name  
/Gemelluut/      large rain cloud



4.45 Q U A D R I L I T E R A L   P L U R A L   P A T T E R N S

The majority of singular quadrilateral forms, with and without feminine markers, have a plural of the pattern /CvCCvvC/. The second most common plural pattern is /CvCvvCvC/.

4.46 CvCCvvC

The vowel of the second syllable is most commonly /oo/, and such plural forms are better classified under the general process of the change of singular /ee/, /ii/ to plural /oo/, /uu/ discussed elsewhere (see 8.5 ff.).

4.47 CeCCeeC (CeCCaaC)

This pattern with long /ee/ occasionally occurs as a plural pattern of singular forms with feminine markers of the pattern /CeCCeCuut/. Thus:-

/genzeef/	(/genzefuut/)	large lopped branches
/GerGaar/	(/GerGeruut/)	bubbles
/HelKeem/	(/HelKemuut/)	Adam's apple
/Henzaab/	(/Henzebuut/)	beads
/keškees/	(/keškešuut/)	burn blisters

## 4.48 Compare the following form:-

/fendaal/	(/fendeluut/)	sweet potatoes
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with unconditioned long /aa/.

4.49 CvCvvCvC

This is the second most commonly occurring plural pattern of quadriliteral singular forms with and without feminine markers. The long vowel of the second syllable is usually /oo/.

4.50 CeCooCeC

From singular forms without feminine markers -

/6aagoorez/	(/6aagreez/)	testicles
/GerooSen/	(/GerSayn/)	joints
/kenoobe6/	(/kenbee6/)	heels
/keroosi/	(/kersay/)	chairs
/menooder/	(/mendeer/)	harbours, ports
/rewoorem/	(/rawrem/)	seas
/tebooreK/	(/tebriiK/)	parti-coloured sheep
/terooKež/	(/terKaaž/)	spotted goats

From singular forms with feminine markers -

/feroosel/	(/feraslet/)	28 <u>raṭl</u> weights
/jenoobi/	(/jenbayyet/)	<u>xanjars</u> , curved daggers
/SefooleH/	(/SefelHoot/)	abalone

4.51 CeCeeCeC

Examples of plural quadriliteral forms with long /ee/ vowel can occur, as:-

/feneexer/	(/fenxereet/)	nostrils
/meleeHew/	(/melHaw/)	jaws

4.52

CeCawCeC

This pattern with diphthong /aw/ in the second syllable is rare. The examples attested are not sufficient to determine whether the /aw/ is bound or conditioned, viz.:-

/menawder/	(/mendeer/)	ports, harbours
/xeTawreK/	(/xeTraaK/)	sticks

CvCvCvvC

4.53

CeCeCeeC

This is the third most common plural pattern of singular quadriliteral forms with feminine markers /-oot/, and /-uut/, (with a single exception). Thus:-

/6aakereem/	(/6aakeremuut/)	pelvises
/feGereew/	(/feGerwoot/)	hollows beneath Adam's apples
/feKeleew/	(/feKelwoot/)	fruits, fruit bushes
/feSereew/	(/feSerwoot/)	cauls (animal)
/Gemeeleel/	(/Gemelluut/)	large rain clouds
/tebereen/	(/teberayn/)	hyenas

CvCvCCet

4.54

CeCaCCet

This pattern is the plural of quadriliteral singular forms of the pattern /CeCCawC/, as:-

/menadKet/	(/mendawK/)	rifles, guns
/senadKet/	(/sendawK/)	boxes, chests

CvCvvCvCet

4.55

GeCaaGeCet

This pattern is the plural of singular forms borrowed from Ar with long /oo/ in the second syllable, as:-

/defaateret/	(/deftoor/)	books, notebooks
/dekaakenet/	(/dekkoon/)	shops
/fenaagenet/	(/fiigoon/)	coffee cups

5. R A R E S I N G U L A R P A T T E R N S

A single example only was attested of the following patterns, the majority of which have a feminine marker.

5.1 CvCCuun

This pattern is probably to be related to the patterns /CvCCayn/ and /CvCCeen/ (see 2.84, 2.85). The attested example is given below:-

/9agzuun/                      group of old women

This is also one of the rarely occurring forms with explicit radical /9/ (see 1.81).

5.2 meC(e)CayC<sup>3</sup>eeC<sup>3</sup>

/meK(e)Hayreer/              shinbone

5.3 CeCCeCt

/beTText/                      water melon

Forms of this pattern occur more commonly in Jahn. Thus:-

Jahn    /Gallaft/                      foreskin

Jahn    /Karraft/                      bud

etc.

(For further examples of the feminine marker /-t/, see 3.47 ff.)

5.4 GeC<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>eC<sub>ut</sub>/KeTTebu<sub>ut</sub>/

roughly-carved doll

5.5 GeCiiC<sub>ut</sub>/zegiin<sub>ut</sub>/

butterfly (cf. J /zegenut/)

5.6 GvCeC<sup>3</sup>C<sup>3</sup>oot

/6aaKebboot/

tree name

5.7 CaaCeCet

/Kaatebet/

swelling of the knee

5.8 GvvCeCeh

/geehemeh/

tomorrow

A second example of this form was attested, viz.:-

/nooxedeh/

captain (cf. Persian /naaxudaa/,  
Ar /naaxudat/, Jahn /nuuxade/,  
J /noxedeh/)5.9 CawCeCet

/Kawzeret/

small round basket of dates

5.10 CayCooCet

/Gayrooret/

bag

6. THE DUAL

T H E   D U A L

The dual in M is obsolescent. It is formed by suffixing /i/ to the singular pattern. It is invariably followed by the number 'two', as:-

/Geggeeni <u>t</u> roo(h)/	two boys
/Gegenawti <u>t</u> rayt/*	two girls

6.1            There is only one exceptional form, namely:-

/Cawgi/	two men
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This form may occur without a following numeral.

6.2            In one case the dual functions as a plural, thus:-

/faKH/	half
/faKHi/	halves

\* /-uu-/ in non-final open syllables is realised as /-aw-/.

(See PHONOLOGY 1.29)



7. E X T E R N A L P L U R A L P A T T E R N S

7.1 THE MASCULINE EXTERNAL PLURAL

The suffix of the masculine external plural is /-iin/ (/ -ayn/), or, more rarely, /-uun/ (/ -awn/).

7.2 The masculine external plural occurs freely in substantive forms, and less commonly in adjectival forms (see 13.64 ), comparable with the Ar sound plural in /-iin/.

7.3 The patterns of the singular substantive forms which have an external plural are in the majority of cases characterised by a long /oo/ vowel between C<sup>2</sup> and C<sup>3</sup>, this long vowel being elided on the affixation of the plural suffix. Thus:-

/6aafoor:6aafriin/	cloud (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /aafiriin/)
/denoob:denbiin/	tail (cf. J /donub:denbin/, and <u>Jahn</u> /dembiin/)
/giidoor:gedriin/	cairn, wall (but cf. <u>Jahn</u> /jidiiruuten/, where the plural form has the feminine external plural suffix)
/gefoon:gefniin/	eyebrow
/geŋoor:geŋriin/	side of the chest (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /jiŋriin/)
/ketoob:ketbiin/	amulet, book (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /ktebiin/)
/Keŋoor:Keŋriin/	rock on the shore (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Kaŋeriin/)
/regoob:regbiin/	animal afterbirth
/seHoob:seHbiin/	raincloud
/ŋxoof:ŋxefiin/	fresh milk (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /ŋxfeen/)
/xeŋoob:xeŋbiin/	whetstone

/zehoob:zehbiin/	camel cloth (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /zehbuuten/, with the feminine external plural suffix)
/zewood:zewdiin/	supplies

- 7.4           The long /ii/ vowel of the suffix is realised as /ay/ after guttural or glottalized consonants (see 1.31 ). Thus:-

/KerooS:KerSayn/	mosquito
/šerook:šerKayn/	side (of a human being)
/šiiwoot:šooTayn/	fire (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /šuuTayn/)

- 7.5           However, compare the following adjectival forms, where unconditioned /ay/ occurs:-

/6aageboon:6aagebenayn/	someone in love
/Gooli:Gelyayn/	expensive

and the following two forms where /ii/ occurs after guttural consonants:-

/KoomeH:KamHiin/	bad
/mešabba:mešabba9iin/	sated (where the voiced pharyngal reappears in the plural form)

- 7.6           Compare also the following plurals of forms with geminate radicals:-

/seneet:senayn/	year
/reSooS:reSayn/	bullet

- 7.7 The masculine external plural suffixes /-uun/, (/ -awn/) are rare. Some examples are given below:-

/gewayr:gooruun/	neighbour (though the alternative plural form /gewawret/ also exists)
/Geezel:Gezluun/	cotton cloth, cotton bush
/šekoot:šekawn/	a thorn (/šk9/) (cf. J /ške9ot/)

- 7.8 In diminutive patterns, the singular ending /-een/ becomes /-aayeen/ in the plural, as:-

/6aalaageen:6aalgaayeen/	2 to 4 year old kid (from /6eeliig/)
/gefaaneen:gefeenaayeen/	eyelid, eyelash (from /gefoon/)
/feraažaan:feržaaayeen/	camel calf (/ -aan/ following the voiced lateral - see (from /ferayž/)
/kelaabeen:kelbaayeen/	wolf (from /koob/)
/ketaabeen:ketbaayeen/	amulet; book (from /ketoob/)

7.9 THE FEMININE EXTERNAL PLURAL

The feminine external plural occurs with greater frequency than the masculine external plural, which is indeed relatively uncommon.

7.10 The feminine external plural suffixes are /-ten/, /-uuten/, /-awten/, /-ayten/, and, rarely, /-oot/.

7.11 The commonest of these suffixes is /-ten/, this being an element of the plural form of substantives and adjectives (see 13.70 ff.).

7.12 In substantive forms, the pattern of the singular form with an external plural is commonly /CvCCvvt/, /CvCvCvvt/, becoming /CeCaCten/ in the plural. Thus:-

7.13 Singular in /-eet/

/6aaDemeet:6aaDanten/	back
/gedere <sup>e</sup> t:gedarten/	small insect
/kewbeet:kelabten/	she-wolf
/kewteet:kelatten/	story
/leseneet:lesanten/	point of sword
/ʒefdeet:ʒefadten/	frog
/werKeet:weraKten/	piece of paper
/xerseet:xerasten/	gap between the teeth

## 7.14 Singular in /-iit/

/6aars <i>̣</i> iit:6aaraʂten/	palm-leaf hut; nest
/6aateriit:6aatarten/	buttermilk; buttermilk skin
/berwiit:berawten/	split in the flesh of the foot
/fer <i>̣</i> iit:feraʂten/	opening in a valley
/He <i>̣</i> tmiit:He <i>̣</i> tamten/	kind of grass
...	
/temriit:temarten/	earlobe; earring
/werkiit:werakten/	hip
/zerfiit:zeraften/	blackberry
/ʒefriit:ʒefarten/	scented leaf

7.15 In plural forms of singulars with a weak medial radical, this radical is explicit in the plural where it is not in the singular form. Thus:-

/beyaDten/ (/beeDayt/)	eggs
/Heyarten/ (/Hiiriit/)	female donkeys
/xiwatten/ (/xoot/)	armpits

7.16 Compare the following with (earlier) medial /9/:-

/ʒe6awten/ (/ʒaaweet/)	plant name
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7.17 Plural forms with C<sup>3</sup> /l/, are realised as /CeCaaten/, as:-

/HeSaaten/ (/HeSeleet/)	pebbles, stones
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7.18 Compare the following with final radical /9/:-

/šerawten/	((šiiiraa6/))	navels
/šerawten/	((šiiiraa6/))	sails

7.19 Compare also the bi-radical form below:-

/Gawten/	((/Gayt/))	sisters
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7.20 Some examples of adjectival forms with the feminine external plural suffix /-ten/ are given below:-

/yedenoot:yedanten/	new
/Delayt:Delawten/	crippled (/Dl9/)

Further examples are given in the section on adjectival patterns (see 13.72ff.).

7.21 Examples of plural forms of this pattern arising from singular forms with the feminine marker /-uut/ are few, and given in full below:-

/Ke6ayten/	((/Ke6yuut/))	earth spirits (f. pl.)
/Telaften/	((/Teliifuut/))	skin on boiled milk
/xewaaten/	((/xeluut/))	aunts, mothers-in-law
/zeganten/	((/zegiinuut/))	butterflies

- 7.22 The following /me-/ prefixed pattern is probably to be related to external plurals of this type. It is an uncommon plural pattern, and occurs as the plural of forms with or without feminine markers, as:-

/meKTarten/	(/meKTereet/)	thread
/meShaften/	(/meShaaf/)	virgin

- 7.23 With final /9/ and medial /w/ the pattern is realised as /meCaC(C)ten/, as:-

/menawten/	(/menwoot/)(/nw9/)	dark rain cloud
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- 7.24 Singular forms of the pattern /CvCCeet/, and /CvCCiit/ less commonly have an external plural with the suffix /-uuten/, as:-

/6aag(e)meet:6aag(e)muuten/	dumb; cul-de-sac
/6aamiit:6aamuuten/	aunt
/Herbeet:Herbuuten/	spinster
/ne6iit:ne6yuuten/	udder

- 7.25 It is possible that here we have evidence of (earlier) nunation, since on affixation the /n/ element is elided, as:-

/6aaDemuuten, 6aaDem <sup>i</sup> etihem/	backs, their (m. pl.) backs
/6aamuuten, 6aam <sup>i</sup> etiye/	aunts, my aunts



- 7.26 The feminine external plural in /-uuten/ is occasionally the plural suffix of masculine forms, as:-

/6eebeel:6eebeluuten/	flint
/diiwee6:diiweeyuuten/	medicine
/Daay:Deyuuten/	smell
/neezaaf:nezefuuten/	covers
/waad:waaduuten/	promise; meeting place
/zefiir:zeferuuten/	lock, tress of hair

- 7.27 Where C<sup>3</sup> is a weak consonant (or where the singular is the feminine of the relative suffix /-ay/, see 13.36 ff.) the feminine plural suffix is /-ayten/. Thus:-

/xelweet:xelayten/	children's tunnel in the sand
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- 7.28 The feminine external plural suffix /-awten/ is commonly the plural suffix of the diminutive singular pattern ending in /-oot/. Thus:-

/geHmaanoot:geHmaanawten/	from /geHmeet/, beetle
/xewfaanoot:xewfaanawten/	from /xewfeet/, window

- 7.29 This suffix occurs, but occasionally only, in plurals of diminutives deriving from masculine forms, as:-

/meHaaleeb:meHlaabawten/	from /meHleeb/, camel calf on the udder
/zenaabeel:zenbaalawten/	from /zenbeel/, basket

7.30           The active participle of the simple verb also has the external feminine suffix /-uuten/ in the plural, the singular pattern being /CvCCiita/ and the plural /CvCCuuten/. It is to be noted, however, that these plurals are frequently common plurals (see the section on participial patterns 12.19 ff.).

7.31           A few examples were attested of a feminine external plural suffix /-oot/, all of which are adjectival forms, and all most probably Mehrized Ar (or Arabized M) (see the section on adjectives 13.76).

8. BROKEN PLURAL PATTERNS

B R O K E N   P L U R A L   P A T T E R N S

8.1            Most plurals in M are broken plurals, although external plurals do occur (see 7 ff.).

8.2            Of the broken plural patterns that occur, a very large majority are of nine basic patterns, viz.:-

CvCvvC

CvCawC

meCvvCvC

meCawCeC

CvCvvCet

CvCawCet

CvCvCten

CvCewweC

CvvCvvC

(See also 8.3 ff. below)

8.3            The final /-en/ of some plural patterns, both external and broken, is probably an ancient tanwiin, since it is elided on affixation of the personal suffixes (see 7.25 for example). It would appear from old J names such as /šarbetoten/ that J also had the final /n/ of this tanwiin, though in present day J this final /n/ is more usually elided.

8.4

It is worth noting that a characteristic of M plural patterns is that of the plurals of singular forms with feminine suffixes in the sample, three quarters have no feminine suffix, whereas of the plurals of singular forms with no feminine suffixes, less than a quarter have plurals with a feminine suffix. (This is excluding adjectival forms, where the correspondence /singular + feminine suffix:plural + feminine/ suffix, and /singular with no feminine suffix:plural with no feminine suffix/ is much more marked.)

8.5

In M plurals are freely formed in a way which does not occur regularly except in this group of Modern South Arabian languages, namely where singulars with a final /-ee(C)/, /-ii(C)/ syllable have a plural with a final /-oo(C)/, /-uu(C)/ syllable. (See 8.6 ff. below)

8.6 Singular /ee/, /ii/ : Plural /oo/, /uu/

A feature of M plurals not found in Ar, but paralleled in the other MSA languages, is the change of vowel from final /ee/, /ay/, and /ii/ in the singular form to final /oo/ in the plural.

8.7 This kind of plural formation occurs irrespective of the type of pattern involved. Thus:-

8.8 With quadriliteral forms, reduplicated and non-duplicated -

/6aaK(e)beeb:6aaK(e)boob/	tree name
/6aardeeb:6aardoob/	shoulder
/6aarKayb:6aarKoob/	mouse
/6aaʕfiir:6aaʕfoor/	cowrie-shell
/6aatliil:6aatlool/	old clothes
/berdeeg:berdoog/	rag
/degdiig:degdoog/	kind of grasshopper
/deGʕeeʕ:deGʕooʕ/	cliff, high point
/deHleel:deHlool/	cave
/deKlayl:deKlool/	beak; peak
/derHiis:derHoos/	one year old kid (f.)
/dexʕiir:dexʕoor/	lair
/gerdiis:gerdooʕ/	desert plain
/gergayr:gergoor/	fish trap
/Hegleem:Hegloom/	kind of grass
/kebkiib:kebkoob/	star
/kermaym:kermoom/	mountain
/Kefriir:Kefroor/	lip
/reKrayK:reKrooK/	good cultivatable soil
/ʕendeer:ʕendoor/	splinter

8.9

With nisbah forms -

/6aamKay:6aamKooy/	medium, middling
/6ensay:6ensooy/	human
/6aaz(e)bay:6aazebooy/	staying alone
/feG(e)say:feGešooy/	having much milk (humans, animals)
/Heb(e)say:Hebešooy/	Ethiopian

8.10

With tri-literal forms -

/6eeliig:6aaloog/	2-4 year old camel
/6aariiD:6aarooD/	male kid
/6aazayz:6aazooz/	bone
/seleeb:seloob/	weaponry
/weTayb:weToob/	red-dyed leather

8.11

Compare with medial /9/:-

/be9ayr:be9yoor, baayoor/	female camel
/waal:we6yool/	Hemitragus Jayakari

8.12

With /m-/ prefixed forms -

/megreer:megroor/	beehive
/meHfiif:meHfoof/	head rope
/meHmiis:meHmoos/	small goat skin
/meHtaym:meHtoom/	camel girth
/meKdeef:meKdoof/	oar

- 8.13           The /oo/ vowel of the plural can occasionally be preceded by the semi-vowel /w/,           (This occurs frequently in adjectival forms, see 13.54, 13.57.) Thus:-

/Hereeb:Herwoob/	bachelor; left over food
/gebeeH:gebwootH/	blunt

- 8.14           The change of vowel in a large number of monosyllables is probably also to be related to this type of formation. Thus:-

/Hayb:Hawb/	father
/Haym:Hoom/	father, brother-in-law
/xayl:xawl/	maternal uncle



8.15      The relationship between tri-radical singular and plural  
              patterns.\*

Plural forms in M are less fixed than singular forms, in that a singular form gives rise frequently to more than one plural form. However, some singular forms tend to have one plural form rather than another, and some of these more common singular: plural relationships are set out below:-

Singular pattern /CeCCeet/, /CeCCiit/: Plural pattern /CvCvvC/  
/CeGaCten/  
/CeCooyeC/

Singular pattern /CeGeeC/, /CeGiiC/ : Plural pattern /CeCawCet/  
/CeCyuuC/  
/CeCwaCten/

Singular pattern /CeCooC/, /CeGuuC/ : Plural pattern /CeCCiin/

Singular pattern /CeCayC/ : Plural pattern /CeCooCet/, /CeCawCet/

Singular pattern /CeCCoot/, /CeCCuut/: Plural pattern /CeCaCten/

[illegible]

\* This includes both internal (broken) and external plurals, as well as adjectival forms.

Singular pattern /CvCC/

: Plural pattern /CvCvvCet/

/CvCvvC/

/CeCawC/

/CeCewweC/

Singular pattern /meCCeeC/, /meCCiiC/: Plural pattern /meCooCeC/, /meCawCeC/

/meCCooC/

8.16 Plural Patterns

8.17 These are listed in order of frequency of occurrence.

8.18 Singular forms relevant to the plural forms are given in brackets.

8.19 CvCvvC

Over a fifth of singular forms in the sample have a plural of the pattern /CvCvvC/ and /CeCawC/.

8.20 As discussed elsewhere (see 1.13, 1.19) the long vowels /ee/, /ii/, and /oo/, /uu/, are phonetically close, but distinguishable on affixation, the long vowels /ee/ and /oo/ being related to a short /a/ vowel, and the long vowels /ii/ and /uu/ to a short /e/ vowel. Thus in forms of the plural pattern /CvCvvC/:-

	/meheeS/	shallow wells
gives	/emhaSiye/	my shallow wells
and	/TeyiiK/	fig trees
gives	/aTyeKiye/	my fig trees
and	/Kewoom/	raiding parties
gives	/aKwamiye/ (or, alternatively, /HaKwamiye/)	my raiding parties
and	/Heduug/	balls of dates
gives	/Hedegiye/	my balls of dates

## 8.21

CeCeeC

This is a common plural pattern for forms derived from geminate roots of the pattern /CeCCeet/, as:-

/defeef/	(/deffeet/)	bodies; sides
/dekeek/	(/dekkeet/)	stone benches
/deleel/	(/delleet/)	coffee pots
/dereer/	(/derraat/)	shirts
/debeeb/	(/debbeet/)	flies
/fereer/	(/ferraat/)	unripe fruits
/Hebeeb/	(/Hebbeet/)	clitoris; pills
/sereer/	(/serraat/)	sparks
/Kemeem/	(/kemmeet/)	skull caps
/Kefeef/	(/Keffeet/)	baskets
/Keleel/	(/Kelleet/)	hilts
/zebeeb/	(/zebbeet/)	sounds, noises

## 8.22

This plural pattern however occurs freely in other contexts, as the plural of singular forms with or without feminine markers. Some examples are given below:-

From singular forms with feminine markers -

/6eeweek/	(/6aaKawt/)	pools
/meheeS/	(/mehSaat/)	shallow wells
/remeeH/	(/remHaat/)	spears

From singular forms with no feminine markers -

/deheeK/	(/dahK/)	cliffs
/geleed/	(/gaad/)	skins

8.23            Some examples of the conditioned variant pattern

/CeCaaC/ are given below:-

From singular forms with feminine markers -

/6aaKaab/	(/6aaKebeet/)	large birds
/beKaar/	(/beKereet/)	cows
/beSaal/	(/beSeleet/)	onions
/helaal/	(/hel(1)eet/)	boils, spots
/ke9aal/	(/kaaleet/)	swollen testicles
/KeSaaS/	(/KeSSaat/)	hairlines; edges

From singular forms with no feminine markers -

/jewaad/	(/jaad/)	(/j9d/)	camel equipment
/meGaar/	(/meGeraat/)		frankincense trees
/meHaaH/	(/maH/)		butters
/we9aaH/	(/wa9H/)		times per day

8.24            Compare also the non-conditioned /aa/ vowel in:-

/zebaan/	(/zeboon/)	times
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8.25

CeCiic

Plural forms of this pattern occur less frequently than plurals of the pattern /CeCeeC/ discussed above. Some examples are given below:-

From singular forms with feminine markers -

/Heliik/	(/HewKaat/)	circles, rings
/Kesiis/	(/Kesseet/)	stories

From singular forms with no feminine markers -

/geliid/	(/gaad/)	skins
/tegiir/	(/tooger/)	merchants
/Teyiik/	(/TayK/)	wild fig trees

8.26 GeCooC

This, with only two exceptions, occurs as the plural pattern of nominal forms with no feminine marker.

8.27 It occurs as the plural form of singular forms with an initial long /oo/ vowel, as:-

/deloow/	(/doolew/)	well buckets
/debool/	(/doobel/)	sides, edges
/gebooy/	(/goobi/)	banks, slopes
/Hekoob/	(/Hookeb/)	cow communities

8.28 It is also the plural pattern of singular forms of the pattern /CvCC/. Thus:-

/Hemoot/	(/Hamt/)	bellies
/Herooz/	(/Harz/)	silver amulets
/Kerood/	(/Kaard/)	voices; throats
/Kewoom/	(/Kawm/)	raiding parties
/Kewooš/	(/Kawš/)	small groups of she-camels
/šeroob/	(/šarb/)	bugs
/zenood/	(/zend/)	forearms

8.29 However, other singular patterns can give rise to plurals of this pattern, as:-

/degoog/	(/degoonet/)	chickens
/seloob/	(/seleeb/)	arms
/weToob/	(/weTayb/)	red-dyed leather

8.30

The pattern is on occasion realised as /eCCooC/, as:-

/eksoob/    (/keeseb/)    acquisitions

/eksoor/    (/sekeroot/)    having much milk after  
a shortage



8.31

CeGuuC

As the plural pattern /CeCooC/ above, this is frequently the plural pattern of singular forms of the pattern /CvCC/. Thus:-

/6aaruuK/	(/6aarK/)	veins, sinews, arteries
/Geyuug/	(/Gayg/)	men
/Hebuus/	(/Habs/)	prisoners; ankle rings
/kefuuf/	(/kef(f)/)	palms; paws, claws
/Keruun/	(/Koon/)	horns
/Keyuud/	(/Kayd/)	ropes
/Tewuur/	(/Tawr/)	times; turns
/xeruug/	(/xarg/)	saddle bags

8.32

Only one example of a form of this pattern not arising from singular /CvCC/ was attested, viz.:-

/Heduug/	(/Hedgeet/)	balls of dates
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8.33 CeCawC

This is a bound pattern, the /aw/ diphthong not being conditionally related to the preceding consonant.

8.34 As the patterns /CeCooC/ and /CeCuuC/ discussed above, /CeCawC/ is also commonly the plural of the singular nominal forms of the pattern /CvCC/. Thus:-

/6aazawm/	(/6aazm/)	intentions
/Gemawd/	(/Gamd/)	sheaths
/hegaws/	(/hags/)	thoughts
/Helawm/	(/Haam/)	dreams
/Herawf/	(/Harf/)	gold coins, amulets
/Keraw <sup>h</sup> /	(/Kar <sup>h</sup> /)	Marie Theresa dollars
/nefaws/	(/naf <sup>s</sup> /)	individuals, persons
/Serawf/	(/Sar <sup>f</sup> /)	sheaths
/serawT/	(/sar <sup>T</sup> /)	conditions
/xeSawm/	(/xaSm/)	enemies

8.35 Compare also from geminate roots:-

/berawr/	(/ber/)	maize
/Hedawd/	(/Hed/)	places
/HeDawD/	(/HeD/)	luck; shares
/HeKawK/	(/HeK/)	rights
/Hesaws/	(/Hes/)	sounds, voices

8.36

Singular forms of other patterns can also, however, give rise to plurals of the pattern /CeCawC/, as:

/6aaSawr/	(/6aaSer/)	nights, evenings
/6aaʒawʒ/	(/6aaʒayʒ/)	bones
/kenawm/	(/kenemoot/)	lice
/Kemawʒ/	(/Kemooʒ/)	shirts
/neGawl/	(/neeGel/)	bastards
/Sedawr/	(/Saader/)	sword hilts
/ʒehawd/	(/ʒoohed/)	witnesses
/zeTawT/	(/zeTTi/)	gypsies

CvCwvvC and CvCyvvC

8.37

CeCwooc

This is a common plural pattern of adjectives (see 13.5477). It rarely occurs nominally. The only attested examples are given below:-

/Herwoob/	(/Hereeb/)	unmarried male; left over food
/šerwoox/	(/šeerex/)	crayfish

8.38

CeCyuuC

This pattern, unlike the pattern /CeCwooc/ discussed above, is the plural pattern of substantive, rather than adjectival forms. Thus:-

/feKyuuž/	(/feKž/)	coconut meat
/KeHyuuf/	(/KeHayf/)	coconut-shell cup
/Kešyuur/	(/Kešeer/)	(coconut) husk; peel
/šeKyuuuf/	(/šeKiif/)	collar bone

8.39 meCvvCvC

This pattern is the plural of singular nominal forms with /me-/ prefix, with or without feminine markers. The long vowel of the second syllable is most commonly /oo/.

8.40 meCooCeC

From singular forms without feminine markers -

The pattern of the singular forms which give rise to plurals of this pattern is usually /meCCeeC/, /meCCiiC/, /meCCawC/, as:-

/menöoKer/	(/menKaär/)	adze
/menoosel/	(/mensawl/)	woollen cloaks
/menooweH/	(/menweeH/)	battles
/merookeb/	(/merkeeb/)	vessels
/merootēK/	(/mertiiK/)	camels wearing teat shields

From singular forms with feminine markers -

The patterns of the singular forms giving rise to such plurals are most commonly /meCCeCvvt/ and /meCeCCvvt/. Thus:-

/megoofef/	(/megefuut/)	corpses; chest cavities of corpses
/meHooder/	(/meHderoot/)	pens, byres
/meHoofer/	(/meHferoot/)	pits, holes
/meHoozem/	(/meHzemoot/)	waists

/mekooned/	(/mekendeet/)	big toes; thumbs
/meKoober/	(/meKbereet/)	graveyards
/meKoošab/	(/meKešoot/)(/Kšŋ/)	dead trees
/menoošeb/	(/menšebeet/)	bows; bows and arrows
/merooweH/	(/merweHaat/)	fans
/mexoomer/	(/mexemreet/)	yeasts

8.41            /meCooCeC/ is also the plural pattern of forms with a final weak radical, as:-

/meKooli/	(/meKlawt/)	coffee roasters
/meloowi/	(/melweyeet/)	mountain passes, paths
/meroosi/	(/mersee/)	anchors

8.42            Compare the following plural form arising from a nisbah singular form:-

/medooni/	(/medenay/)	townsmen
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8.43            Compare also the plural form below where the singular form has no /me-/ prefix:-

/meKooHi/	(/Kehweet/)	coffee shops
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8.44            Examples of forms with long vowels other than /oo/ are rare. Two such are given below, both following the voiceless lateral /š/:-

/meʃeweS/    (/meʃweeS/)    toothsticks, toothpicks  
(alternative plural  
/meʃewweS/, see 8.70)

/meʃeexem/    (/meʃxemeet/)    itchy spots

8.45 Compare the following example where the long vowel  
is /oo/ following the voiced lateral /ɫ/:-

/meʒoobi/      (/meʒbawt/) (/ʒbw/y/)      roast meats

8.46 Compare also the following, with a long /aa/ following the glottalized /D/:-

/meDaaHem/ (/meDHaam/) bladders (animal)

8.47

meCawCeC

This is a bound pattern, the diphthong /aw/ occurring in all phonetic contexts. Thus it occurs following the glottalized and guttural consonants, as:-

/meDawxem/	(/meDxaam/)	pincers
/meGawfeʒ/	(/meGfeeʒ/)	wrappings, bundles
/mehawni/	(/mehnooy/)	farms, cultivated areas
/meKawmaʕ/	(/maKmaʕ/)	corners of the eyes
/meSawHer/	(/maSHer/)	branding irons
/meSawref/	(/meSrawf/)	rations, supplies
/mexawTer/	(/mexTaar/)	journeys

but also following consonants other than these, as:-

/medawrem/	(/medreem/)	Achilles tendons
/mefawSel/	(/mafSel/)	joints
/melawsi/	(/mewsee/)	rains
/menawger/	(/mengeray/)	bracelets
/merawKeS/	(/merKaaS/)	crutches
/mesawged/	(/mesgliid/)	mosques
/mesawmer/	(/mesmar/)	nails
/mesawreT/	(/meserTaat/)	nooses
/meʒawreH/	(/meʒeraaH/)	teeth

8.48

The pattern is realised as /mawCeC/ when the first radical of the singular form is (earlier) voiced pharyngal. Thus:-



/mawlem/	(/maalem/)(/9lm/)	branding irons
/mawmed/	(/me6amdoot/)	pillows
/mawses/	(/maasiis/)	vegetation after rain

8.49 CvCvVCet

The long vowel of this common plural pattern is usually /ee/.

8.50 CeCeeCet

Like the patterns /CvCvVC/ and /CvCawC/ discussed above (see 8.29 ff, 8.34 ff) this plural pattern commonly arises from singular forms of the pattern /CvCC/. Thus:-

/beweebet/	(/boob/)	doors
/feweeset/	(/foos/)	axes
/geweebet/	(/gawb/)	shields
/Heweelet/	(/Hawl/)	years
/Heweezet/	(/Hawz/)	ponds
/HeyeeKet/	(/HayK/)	shares
/Keweemet/	(/Kawm/)	raiding parties
/meweeset/	(/maws/)	razors
/seweetet/	(/sawt/)	sounds, voices
/xeweeret/	(/xawr/)	inlets, lagoons

8.51 Occasionally singular forms giving rise to plurals of this pattern have a final weak radical and are of the pattern /CvVCvC/, as:-

/9areewet/	(/9ayri/)	tom cats
/gebeeyet/	(/geebi/)	hems
/rekeewet/	(/reekew/)	pieces of leather

8.52

CeCooCet

The long vowel /oo/ occurs less frequently than the long vowel /ee/ above. It occurs after the semivowels /w/ and /y/, and after the liquid consonant /l/. Thus:-

/fewooget/	(/fewoog/)	echoes
/heyooobet/	(/hayb/)	crowbars
/Kelooset/	(/Kelees/)	glasses
/melooket/	(/meleek/)	angels

8.53

However, compare the following, where the /oo/ vowel follows consonants other than those mentioned above:-

/Kemooset/	(/Kemays/)	shirts
/KeSooTet/	(/KeSeeT/)	rainbows

8.54 CeCawCet

The diphthong /aw/ of the pattern /CeCawCet/ is bound.

It is a common plural form of singular nominal forms without a feminine marker of the patterns /CeCayC/, /CeCeeC/, /CeCiic/. It also occurs as the plural pattern of medial /y/ forms of the pattern /CayC/, /Ciic/, /CeeC/. Examples are given below:-

## 8.55 From singular forms of the pattern /CeCayC/ -

/gewawret/	(/gewayr/)	neighbours
/Gedawlet/	(/Gedayl/)	bundles, loads
/Hedawdet/	(/Hedayd/)	pieces of iron
/HeSawret/	(/HeSayr/)	mats
/Kebawnet/	(/Kebayn/)	scorpions
/wezawret/	(/wezayr/)	ministers

## 8.56 Compare the contracted from below:-

/skawnet/	(/skayn/)	knives
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## 8.57 From forms of the singular pattern /CeCeeC/ -

/bedawnet/	(/bedeen/)	bodies
/felawget/	(/feleeg/)	streams, <u>aflaa</u> j
/legawmet/	(/legeem/)	wooden pegs inserted in calves' mouths to prevent suckling

/metawlet/	(/meteel/	proverbs
/remawdet/	(/remeed/)	ashes

- 8.58 Compare the following arising from a singular form with an unconditioned /aa/:-

/ʒedawdet/	(/ʒedaad/)	saddles
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- 8.59 From singular forms of the pattern /CeCiic/ -

/berawKet/	(/beriiK/)	kettles, pitchers
/fegawret/	(/fegiir/)	pipes
/Gebawret/	(/Gebiir/)	dolphins

- 8.60 From singular forms with medial radical /y/ of the patterns /CayC/, /CeeC/, /Ciic/ .-

/6aayawdet/	(/6eed/)	festivals, holidays
/deyawnet/	(/dayn/)	debts
/zeyawret/	(/zayr/)	wooden buckets, clay jars

- 8.61 Compare the following with medial /6/:-

/beyawret/	(/bayr/)(/b6r/)	wells
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8.62 CeCewweC

This is a common plural pattern of singular nominal forms of the patterns /CeeCeC/ and /CooCeC/. Thus:-

## 8.63 Singular /CeeCeC/

/6aaTewwer/	((/6aaTer/)) (/9Tr/)	perfumes
/bedewwer/	((/beeder/))	seeds
/fešewwel/	((/fešel/))	jobs, affairs
/gedewwel/	((/geedel/))	feet
/Gedewwel/	((/Gaadel/))	large loads
/nedewwer/	((/needer/))	vows
/reGeweew/	((/reeGeb/))	small branches, twigs
/Sebewwex/	((/šeebex/))	bugs
/šeTewwer/	((/šeeTer/))	spans (thumb to forefinger)
/želewwa6/	((/žaalaa/)) (/žl9/)	ribs
/žeTewwer/	((/žaaTer/))	buttocks

## 8.64 Singular /CooCeC/

/6aa <u>d</u> ewweK/	((/6oodeK/))	clusters of dates
/delewwew/	((/doolew/))	well buckets
/hefewwel/	((/hoofel/))	stomachs
/Hebewwel/	((/Hoobel/))	leather head thongs
/Hemewwa/	((/Hooma/))	cowrie shells
/HemewweK/	((/HoomeK/))	scabs
/šegewwed/	((/šooged/))	fine fishing nets
/xetewwem/	((/xootem/))	rings

- 8.65 It is also commonly the plural pattern of singular forms of the pattern /CvCC/ where C<sup>2</sup> or C<sup>3</sup> is a guttural consonant, as:-

/derewwa6/	((dar6/)) ((dr9/))	forearms
/feTewwex/	((faTx/))	blows on the head
/reHewwem/	((raHm/))	wombs
/seTewweH/	((saTH/))	ceilings
/šerewwex/	((šarx/))	dressed sticks
/šexewweš/	((šaxš/))	toy guns
/šexewweT/	((šaxT/))	matches
/TelewweH/	((TalH/))	plants

- 8.66 Singular forms of the pattern /CeC/ derived from geminate roots also give rise to plural forms of this pattern, as:-

/Kešewweš/	((Keš/))	baggage
/šeKewweK/	((šeK/))	cracks
/Tešewweš/	((Teš/))	rain showers

- 8.67 Occasionally singular forms of the pattern /CeCeeC/ have plurals of this pattern, as:-

/Terewwef/	((Tereef/))	sides
/xelewweK/	((xeleeK/))	clothes

- 8.68 Compare the /me-/ prefixed forms below with a medial weak radical whose plurals also show the /-ewwe-/ element:-

/meʃewweS/	(/meʃweeS/)	toothsticks, toothpicks
/mexewweT/	(/mexayT/)	needles



8.69 CvvCvvC

This plural pattern with two long vowels is most commonly the plural pattern of masculine plural adjectival forms, the long vowel of the first syllable also occurring in the feminine plural form (see 13.50 ff., 13.71 ff.).

8.70 This plural pattern also occurs fairly freely as a plural of nominal forms, most commonly as the plural pattern of forms whose singular pattern is /CvvCvC/.

8.71 CiiGeeC

The long vowels of the pattern are most commonly /CiiGeeC/ (and its conditioned variant /CiiCaaC/), as:-

/hiiteem/	(/haytem/)	heavens, skies
/HiitAar/	(/HooTer/)	young male kids
/kiirees/	(/keeres/)	bellies
/niiHaar/	(/neeHer/)	small side wadis

8.72 The pattern is realised as /CiiCay6/ or /CiiCaa6/ where the final radical is weak, /6/ or /9/. Thus:-

/diiray6/	(/doore/)(/dr6/)	blood
/giiwaa6/	(/goot/)(/gw6/)	holes, pits
/tiiday6/	(/toodi/)(/tdy/)	breasts
/ziigaa6/	(/zayga/)(/zg9/)	caves, pens

8.73 The pattern is realised as /CayCay6/ where C<sup>1</sup> is a guttural radical and C<sup>3</sup> a weak radical. Thus:-

/Gaytay6/ (/Gooti/) necks

8.74 Compare also the following where a long /aa/ vowel follows the voiced lateral /ɬ/:-

/Gayɬaaɬ/ (/Gooɬeb/) young bulls

8.75 Singular forms of patterns other than /CvvCvC/ can give rise to plurals of this pattern, some with feminine markers as:-

/6ayteer/ (/6aateriit/) buttermilk, buttermilk skin  
/Kiiṣeen/ (/Keṣneet/) thickets, woods

and some with no feminine marker, as:-

/fiireet/ (/fart/) food in the intestines of  
slaughtered animals  
/xiiweet/ (/xoot/) armpits

8.76 CiiCooC

This pattern occurs commonly adjectivally (see 13.10 ff.) but less frequently nominally than forms of the pattern /CiiCeeC/ discussed above.

8.77 It can occur as the plural pattern of forms with two long vowels in the singular, as:-

/riikoob/ (/reekiib/) riding camel

but more commonly occurs as the plural forms of singulars of the pattern /CvvCvC/. Thus:-

/6aysoor/	(/6aaßer/)	friends, companions
/HayToob/	(/HooTeb/)	pieces of wood
/Haytoom/	(/Hootem/)	coffee-pot spouts
/Kaydoor/	(/Kaader/)	cooking pots
/ziigoom/	(/zaagem/)	cheeks

8.78

GooGooC

Only two examples of forms of this plural pattern were attested, both from singulars with two long vowels, of the pattern /GooCiic/. They are related to the general class of singular:plural forms with final /ee/, /ii/ in the singular, becoming /oo/, /uu/ in the plural forms (see 8.6 ff.).

The two forms are given below:-

/goodool/	(/goodiil/)	fire sticks
/noomool/	(/noomiil/)	ants

8.79

CeCooyeC

This pattern is commonly the plural pattern of singular substantive forms with the feminine markers /-eet/, /-iit/, /-et/ and /-eh/. The singular forms which have the plural form /CeCooyeC/ are commonly of the pattern /CvCC + feminine marker/ or of the patterns /CeCvvC + feminine marker/, and /CeCayC + feminine marker/, as:-

8.80

## Singular /CvCC + feminine marker/ -

/dewooyer/	(/dayret/)	compasses
/Hewooyeg/	(/Hooget/)	needs
/Kerooyez/	(/Kerzaat/)	loans
/Kesooyem/	(/Kesmeet/)	gifts for a child
/reHooyeb/	(/reHbeet/)	towns
/sewooyed/	(/saddet/)	islands in a valley
/xelooyef/	(/xewfeet/)	windows
/xezooyen/	(/xezneet/)	treasuries

8.81

## Singular /CeCvvC + feminine marker/, /CeCayC/ + feminine marker -

/deKooyeK/	(/deKayKet/)	minutes
/genooyez/	(/genoozet/)	biers
/Hegooyel/	(/Hegoolet/)	iron bracelets
/Kebooyel/	(/Kebaylet/)	tribes
/meSooyeb/	(/meSiibeh/)	disasters
/seHooyer/	(/seHaareh/)	boxes
/SebooyeC/	(/Sebiiget/)	indigo dyed dresses

8.82                    Compare the form below which is probably to be related  
to this plural pattern:-

/Gayrooyer/    (/Gayrooret/)    bags

8.83 CvCC

This is a relatively uncommon plural pattern, occurring mainly as the plural of singular forms of the patterns /CvCC/, /CvCCeet/, /CvCCiit/, with medial /w/, /y/ or /9/. Thus:-

8.84 CawC

/6awm/	((/6oom/))	ancestors
/fawm/	((/faam/)) ((/f9m/))	legs
/Hawb/	((/Hayb/))	fathers
/Hawm/	((/Haym/))	fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law
/xawl/	((/xayl/))	maternal uncles

8.85 CayC

/6aayd/	((/6aydeet/))	sardines
/bayD/	((/biidayt/))	eggs
/Gayw/	((/Gaa/))	brothers
/rayf/	((/raaf/)) ((/r9f/))	refactory camels
/Sayr/	((/Saar/)) ((/S9r/))	gazelle

8.86 CiiC

/Hiik/	((/HayK/))	shares
/SiIH/	((/SayH/))	desert areas

8.87            CooC

/foot/	(/footeet/)	(/fwt/)	corpses of unslaughtered animals
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8.88            However, /CvCC/ also occurs as the plural pattern of singular forms of the patterns /CvCC/, /CvCCeet/ with radicals other than those discussed above, and as the plural patterns of singular forms of the pattern /CeC/ derived from geminate roots. Thus:-

8.89            CvCC

/6aarf/	(/6aarfeet/)	kind of grass
/HabD/	(/HebDayt/)	plant name
/naxl/	(/nexleet/)	palm trees

8.90            CeC

/HeS/	(/HeSayt/)	milk-heating stones
/ʃef/	(/ʃefeet/)	hairs
/tem/	(/temeet/)	garlic

mvCCvvC8.91 meCCooC

This is commonly the plural pattern of singular masculine participial forms of the pattern /meCCiiC/ (see

8.92 However, nominal examples do occur, the singular forms being of the pattern /meCCvvC/, /meCCayC/, as:-

/meg(e)roor/	(/meg(e)reer/)	beehives
/meHfoof/	(/meHfeef/)	headropes, headcloths
/meHfoor/	(/meHfeer/)	baskets
/meHgoor/	(/meHgiir/)	hollows under Adam's apples
/meHmooS/	(/meHmeeS/)	skins of small goats
/meHtoom/	(/meHtaym/)	camel girths
/meK <u>doof</u> /	(/meK <u>deef</u> /)	oars

8.93 meCCeeC

The only attested examples of plurals of the pattern with /ee/ vowel have the feminine marker /-eet/ in the singular form, and are given below:-

/meGreeb/	(/meGerbeet/)	acquaintances
/melHaaw/	(/melHeyeet/)	molar teeth



8.94 GvvCvC

Plurals of this relatively uncommon pattern more commonly have long /ee/ in the first syllable, forms with long /oo/ and /ii/ vowels occurring rarely.

8.95 CeeCeC

This plural pattern occurs as the collective plural of singulative nominal forms, as:-

/beeDeH/	(/beDeHayn/)	edible tubers
/beeser/	(/beseriit/)	dates
/neexel/	(/nexeliit/)	palm trees
/teefer/	(/teferiit/)	camel dung

8.96 CiiCeC

The only two attested examples of plurals of this pattern have a final weak or /9/ radical, as:-

/fiiKa/	(/fooKa/) (/fK9/)	rain pools
/hiila6/	(/hoola6/)(/hlw/y/)	shadows, reflections

8.97 CooCeC

The attested examples of plurals of this pattern have a final radical /9/, as in the pattern /CiiCeC/ discussed above. Thus:-

/rooKa6/	(/reKaat/) (/rK9/)	rags, patches
/ṣooba6/	(/ṣeba6/) (/ṣb9/)	fingers

Plural patterns with /He-/ prefix8.98      HeCCuuC

This plural pattern occurs infrequently as the plural pattern of singular nominal forms with no feminine marker of the singular pattern /CvCC/ or /CeeCeC/. Thus:-

## 8.99      From singular /CvCC/ -

/HefruuK/	(/farK/)	flocks (of goats or sheep)
/HesyuuB/	(/sayb/)	oars
/Hešbuub/	(/šeb/)	youths

## 8.100      From singular /CeeCeC/ -

/Hegduul/	(/geedel/)	feet
/Heskuun/	(/seeken/)	communities, settlements
/Heškuul/	(/šeeke/)	twins

8.101      HeCCeeCet

Only two examples of /He-/ prefixed plural forms with feminine markers were attested:-

/HesweeKet/	(/sawK/)	markets
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And, as realised in a contracted form, the following with C<sup>3</sup> /9/:-

/Herbaat/	(/riibay/)	(/rb9/) fellow travellers
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8.102 Plural formations with doubling of C<sup>2</sup> and /-w-/ infix

Occasionally a plural is formed of the pattern /Cewac<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>ec/ from singular substantive forms with or without feminine markers. Examples are given below:-

/Gewabber/	(/Goober/)	camels about to give birth
/kewallen/	(/keloon/)	bridegrooms
/Kewahher/	(/Kehawr/)	she-camels with fully grown offspring
/rewamma/	(/rooma/) (/rm9/)	camels sharing a calf
/zewerreK/	(/ziireK/)	fast moving snakes
/żewarra6/	(/żereet/)	co-wives

8.103 Plural formation with doubling of C<sup>3</sup>

Plurals are occasionally formed from nominal singular forms without feminine markers where C<sup>3</sup> is doubled in the plural form, as:-

/6aasmiim/	(/6aasuum/)	heaps, piles
/Hayriir/	(/Hayr/)	male donkeys

8.104 eCCeCaa6

This rarely occurring plural pattern is probably comparable to the Ar plural pattern /af9ilaa6/, usually as the plural of forms borrowed from Ar, as:-

/esdeKaa6/	(/sedayK/)	non-foes (cf. Ar /aSdiKaa6/)
/ewleyaa6/	(/welay/)	saints (cf. Ar /awliyaa6/)

8.105            Compare however the following M form whose plural  
form is comparable to that mentioned above:-

/arewaa6/	(/rawa/)	lots; children's games
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CvCvC8.106 CeCaC

This occurs as the plural pattern of forms derived from geminate roots where  $C^2$ ,  $C^3$  are glottalized, and the singular form is of the pattern /CeCCaat/. Thus:-

/feTaT/	(/feTTaat/)	pimples, itchy spots
/HeTaT/	(/HeTTaat/)	pieces, pips
/ʕeKaK/	(/ʕeKKaat/)	saris, body wrappings

8.107 CeCeC

The only examples attested of plural forms of this pattern have a final weak radical, as:-

/bedew/	(/bedeway/)	bedouin
/keley/	(/kelyeet/)	kidneys

8.108 CeCayC

Two examples only of plurals of this pattern were attested, one nominal, the other adjectival:-

/feHayl/ or /efHayl/	(/feeHel/)	penes
/selaym/	(/seelem/)	safe ( <u>m. pl.</u> )

8.109 CewvvCeC

Three examples of plural forms of this pattern were attested, two with long /oo/ vowel in the second syllable, and one with long /ee/ vowel. Thus:-

/6aawooTeK/	(/6ooTeK/)	camels, cows with insufficient milk
/seweeHer/	(/seeHer/)	warlocks, wizards
/sewooreH/	(/serHawt/)	customs

8.110 CeC<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>ooCet

This occurs as the plural pattern of forms derived from geminate roots whose singular is of the pattern /CeCCooC/ and whose meaning is related to an occupation or a way of life (see 2.67 ff.), as:-

/delloolet/	(/dellool/)	guides
/Heddoodet/	(/Heddood/)	blacksmiths
/Heggooget/	(/Heggoog/)	<u>Hajjis</u>

## 8.111 Compare also the plural form of the following:-

/Hennooket/    (/Hennuuk/)    palates

from a singular form of the pattern /CeCCuuC/, where the meaning is unrelated to occupation or way of life.

8,112    Plural formations with an /me-/ prefix

On occasion plurals are formed with an /me-/ prefix where the singular form has no such prefix, as:-

/maalook/	(/6eeleeK/)	knobs, protuberances
/meKoochi/	(/Kehweet/)	coffee-shops
/meKooTef/	(/KeT(e)feet/)	snip-markers (from the ear of livestock)
/menaadex/	(/niideex/)	smoke
/meSawHer/	(/SaaHer/)	brand marks

8.113 GeCaCt

This is a rare plural form of singular nominal forms of the pattern /CvCC/, occurring mainly where C<sup>2</sup> is /w/ or /ʃ/, as:-

/bewakt/	(/bawk/)	books
/fewast/	(/foos/) (/fʃs/)	axes
/gewaft/	(/gawf/)	chests

## 8.114 However, compare also the following:-

/sexaft/	(/sexayf/)	idiots, fools
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where the singular form is of the pattern /GeCayC/. However, this form is probably better related to adjectival rather than nominal forms.

## 8.115 The affixation of the feminine marker /-t/ with no preceding vowel occurs quite commonly in feminine singular adjectival patterns (see 13.21).

Compare also:-

/Hennekt/	(/Hennuuk/)	palates (cf. the alternative plural form /Hennooket/ above 8.113)
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9. R A R E P L U R A L P A T T E R N S

The following are plural patterns of which only one example has been attested. They are all suffixed patterns. Thus:-

9.1	<u>CeCCawCi</u>	/gennawni/	(/genyet/)	sacks
9.2	<u>CeCewCa</u>	/hedewya/	(/hedeyyet/)	presents
9.3	<u>eCCeCet</u>	/eHwezet/	(/Hawz/)	boundary markers
9.4	<u>CeCCiiw</u>	/Herziw/	(/Herzayt/)	<u>salam</u> trees
9.5	<u>CeCCawCet</u>	/neGGawret/	(/neGGoor/)	storks
9.6	<u>CeCeCeet</u>	/beHereet/	(/beHHoor/)	sailors
9.7	<u>CiCewCet</u>	/riyewHet/	(/riiH/)	hot winds
9.8	<u>CeCaCyet</u>	/gewater/	(/gawti/)	shoes
9.9	<u>CeCuuCet</u>	/Hekuemet/	(/Hookem/)	rulers
9.10	<u>CeCeCyeet</u>	/6aaberyeet/	(/6oober/)	passengers
9.11	<u>CeCaaCaat</u>	/benaayaat/	(/beeni/)	buildings

9.12	<u>meCCeCet</u>	/mewremet/	(/mawrem/)	funnels for pitch
9.13	<u>meCaCCet</u>	/mesaylet/	(/mesyool/)	watercourses
9.14	<u>meCawCet</u>	/meTawKet/	(/meTaK/)	pestles and/or mortars

10. VERBAL NOUN PATTERNS

VERBAL NOUNS

These nominal forms are considered separately since as gerunds or nouns describing the action of the verb, they have no plural forms.

10.1 SIMPLE VERB FORMS

The most commonly occurring patterns of verbal nouns derived from the simple verbal patterns /CeGeeC/, /CeGuuC/, /CiiceC/ and /CooCeC/ are /CayCeC/ and /CeCayC/, where the diphthong /ay/ is not a conditioned variant of the long vowel /ii/. (Compare Jahn, where the most commonly occurring pattern of the verbal noun derived from the simple verb is /CiiceC/, the pattern /CayCeC/ occurring only after initial guttural or glottalized consonants.)

10.2 Patterns with the feminine markers /-eet/ (/ -aat/), /-uut/ (/ -awt/), and /-et/ also occur freely.

10.3 Verbal nouns of the simple verb form /CeGuuC/

The most common pattern of the gerundial verbal noun of the simple verb from /CeGuuC/ is /CayCeC/. Thus:-

/6aydeg/	from /6aaduug/	to suck
/6aydel/	from /6aaduul/	to lift, raise
/gaydem/	from /geduum/	to lop off; to lose members through leprosy

/haysef/	from /hesuuf/	to humiliate
/mayle6/	from /meluu/	to fill
/maywet/	from /moot/	to die
/raykez/	from /rekuuz/	to stick upright in the ground
/tayfel/	from /tefuul/	to spit
/taybi/	from /tebuu/	to moo, low
/xayles/	from /xeluus/	to stray
/zayfen/	from /zefuun/	to go back and forth with supplies
		etc.

10.4 Verbal nouns of the pattern /CaCC/ also occur.

Thus:-

/fark/	from /feruuk/	to load a gun
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This is a deverbal noun, however, rather than a verbal noun and /fayrek/ also occurs.

10.5 Verbal noun patterns with feminine markers also occur, as:-

/rewiyyet/	from /rewuu/	to relate
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10.6 And rarely the pattern /CooCeC/ occurs, as:-

/foored/ from /feruud/ to stampede

10.7 Verbal nouns of the simple verb form /CiiCeC/

Verbs of the pattern /CiiCeC/ can have verbal nouns of other patterns, but many fall into the same category as verbs of the pattern /CeCuuC/. Thus:-

/bayTer/	from /biiT <u>e</u> r/	to start up from sleep
/bay <u>z</u> er/	from /bi <u>i</u> z <u>e</u> r/	to be torn
/Kaybel/	from /Kaybel/	to accept
/t <u>a</u> yber/	from /t <u>i</u> iber/	to be broken
/waySel/	from /wi <u>i</u> Sel/	to arrive
/xayli/	from /xayli/	to be alone with someone

10.8 Verbal nouns from verbs of the pattern /CiiCeC/ occasionally have the feminine marker /-eet/ and its conditioned variant /-aat/. Thus:-

/fe <u>z</u> (e)laat/	from /fi <u>i</u> z <u>e</u> l/	to be left over
/kewreet/	from /ki <u>i</u> wer/	to love
/ned(e)meet/	from /ni <u>i</u> dem/	to repent
/t <u>e</u> m(e)reet/	from /t <u>i</u> imer/	(fruit) to ripen

10.9 The feminine marker can also be /-uut/, as:-

/feD(e)luut/	from /fi <u>i</u> De <u>l</u> /	to break a tooth
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- 10.10 More rarely, the pattern of verbal nouns derived from verbs of this pattern can be /CeCooCet/, as:-

/seloomet/	from /siilem/	to be safe
/tegooret/	from /tiiger/	to be rich

- 10.11 The pattern /CeCayC/ can also occur in verbal nouns derived from this pattern as:-

/fedayr/	from /fiider/	to shiver
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but this is most commonly the pattern of verbal nouns derived from verbs of the pattern /CeGeeC/ (see below 10.16).

- 10.12 Other attested patterns of verbal nouns derived from the verbal pattern /CiiCeC/ are as follows:-

- 10.13 Verbal noun pattern /CiiCeC/:

/diiker/	from /diiker/	to mention
/fiikeš/	from /fiikeš/	to burst, explode

- 10.14 Verbal noun pattern /CaCC/:

/šarG/	from /šiireG/	to desire someone
/šawr/	from /šiwer/	to consider

(Compare Jahn, where the pattern /CvCC/ occurs commonly as the pattern of the verbal noun derived from verbs with a medial guttural or glottalized consonant)

## 10.15 Verbal noun pattern /CawCeC/:

The only attested form of this pattern is:-

/Dawma6/ from /Dayma/ to be thirsty (/Dm9/)

10.16 Verbal nouns of the simple verb form /CeCeeC/

The pattern /CeCayC/ is normally the pattern of verbal nouns derived from verbal forms of the pattern /CeCeeC/. Thus:-

/behayl/	from /beheel/	to be cooked, ready
/behayt/	from /beheet/	to convince
/dehayf/	from /deheef/	to slap on the back
/dehayl/	from /deheel/	to become accustomed to
/deHayk/	from /deHaak/	to skin, flay
/fehays/	from /fehees/	to boil
/nehayk/	from /neheek/	to bray
/shayd/	from /sheed/	to bear witness
/Tehays/	from /Tehees/	to slip
		etc.

10.17 Rarely, verbal nouns derived from verb forms of this pattern have a feminine marker, as:-

/behezaat/ from /beheeZ/ to start up in surprise

10.18 Other less common patterns of the verbal noun derived from verbs of the pattern /CeCeeC/ are given below:-



## 10.19 Verbal noun pattern /CeGiic/:

/dehiib/ from /deheeb/ to be flooded

## 10.20 Verbal noun pattern /CeCawC/:

/gehawm/ from /geheem/ to go far (cf. Jahn /jihoum/)

## 10.21 Verbal noun pattern /CeC(e)Cvvn/:

/TeheKayn/ from /TeheeK/ to be smooth

/zeheduun/ from /zeheed/ to be expert

10.22 Verbal nouns of the simple verb form /CooCeC/

Verbal nouns derived from the verbal pattern /CooCeC/  
are generally of the pattern /CeCooC/, as:-

/henood/ from /hooned/ to be drowsy

/Hedoor/ from /Hooder/ to be on one's guard;  
to build a pen

/xelooy/ from /xooli/ to divorce (cf. Jahn /xalweet/)  
etc.

## 10.23 Verbal nouns of the pattern /CeCCeet/ can also occur, as:-

/defaat/ from /doofa/ to push; pay (/df9/)

10.24 Verbal nouns of simple verb forms with geminate roots

Simple verb forms with geminate roots give verbal nouns of the pattern /CeCC/ or /CeCCuut/, as:-

/kebb/	from /keb(b)/	to spill (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /kebb/)
/temmuut/	from /tem(m)/	to be finished (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /tumm/)

VERBAL NOUNS OF DERIVED VERBS10.25 Intensive/Conative Verbs

Intensive/conative verbs of the pattern /(a)CooCeC/  
and /aCCeeC/\* most commonly give verbal nouns of the pattern  
/teCCayC/, as:-

/taalaym/	from /9oolem/	to teach
/tebdayd/	from /abdeed/	to separate
/tebšayr/	from /abooser/	to bring good news
/tefsayr/	from /fooser/	to explain
/tehrayb/	from /hooreb/	to smuggle
/teHrayK/	from /HooreK/	to burn ( <u>trans.</u> )
/telwaym/	from /alweem/	to blame
/teTyayb/	from /aTyeeb/	to arrange things for someone

10.26 Compare with C<sup>1</sup> an (original) glottal stop:-

/twedayb/	from /awoodeb/	to punish
/twekayd/	from /awooked/	to certify
/twexayr/	from /awooxer/	to postpone

10.27 Verbal nouns of the pattern /teC(e)CeCeet/ and its  
conditioned variant /teC(e)CeCaat/ can occur, as:-

\* /aCCeeC/ occurs to the exclusion of /(a)CooCeC/ in  
verbal forms with geminate roots and in hollow verbs

/taabeleet/ from /6oobel/

to try, test something,  
someone (/9bl/)

/terbaat/ from /aroobeh/

to give someone protection  
(/rb9/)

10.28 Causative Verbs

Causative verbs with the /he-/ prefix give rise to verbal nouns of the pattern /heCCeCuut/ (/heCCeCawt/ after guttural and glottalized consonants, see 1.33 ), coinciding in pattern with the relevant 3 f.s. perfect form of the verb.

Thus:-

/haaresuut/	from /haaroos/	to marry (/9rs/)
/haatemuut/	from /haatoom/	to spend the night (/9tm/)
/hebSeruut/	from /hebSawr/	to see well
/hefseHawt/	from /hefseeH/	to stop doing something
/hegSebuut/	from /hegSawb/	to lose something important
/heGberuut/	from /heGboor/	to give help
/henGemuuT/	from /henGawm/	to anger
/hensemuut/	from /hensoom/	to breathe
/henwefuut/	from /henwoof/	to beckon
/herxeSawt/	from /herxawS/	to sell cheaply
/hewgeŋsuut/	from /hewgoos/	to go with animals in the afternoon
/hezberuut/	from /hezboor/	to feel pleased at someone's bad luck
		etc.

## 10.29

Forms with a final /6/, /9/, /w/, or /y/ give rise to verbal nouns of the pattern /heCCuut/, as:-

/hebnuut/	from /hebnoo/	to build (/bny/)
/hebTuut/	from /hebTaa/	to be late (/bT6/)
/hefŋsuut/	from /hefŋsoo/	to give someone lunch (/fŋy/)
/heGduut/	from /heGdoo/	to forget (/Gdw/)

/herbuut/	from /herbaa/	to lift, pull up (/rb9/)
/hewkuut/	from /hewkaa/	to put (/wK9/)
/hewzuut/	from /hewzoo/	to bend over backwards (/wzy/)

10.30 Compare with C<sup>2</sup> /y/ :-

/heGeegũut/	from /heGyoog/	to bear young
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10.31 and with medial /l/ :-

/heGewTawt/	from /heGloot/	to lie politely
/hemewkuut/	from /hemlook/	to give possession of a wife in marriage

10.32 Compare also the verbal nouns of verbal forms with geminate roots:-

/hedelluut/	from /hedlool/	to show, direct
/heššũut/	from /haašooš/	to rouse (/9šš/)

10.33 Causative verbs of the pattern /(e)CCooC/ and /(e)CCeeC/ give rise to verbal nouns of the pattern /CvCCvvt/. The majority of verbal nouns derived from this verb form are of the pattern /CeCCuut/ and its conditioned variant /CeCCawt/, as:-

/fewtuut/	from /flood/	to run away
/ferrawt/	from /froor/	to strip the fruit of a bush (for the effect of geminate /r/ on the following vowel, see 1.30, 1.34)

/ferkuut/	from /frook/	to induce a woman to leave her husband
/ferKawt/	from /frooK/	to distribute guests
/sedduut/	from /sdood/	tò aim (a gun)
/serrawt/	from /sroor/	to block someone's vision (see /ferrawt/ above)

10.34 The only attested example of a verbal noun of the pattern /CeCCiit/ (/CeCCayt/) is the following form:-

/felHayt/	from /fleeH/	to eat to repletion (for explicit /l/ preceding the pharyngal /H/, see 1.105)
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10.35 Compare verbal nouns of forms with a final weak radical, or final /9/ :-

/fgaat/	from /fgaa/	to give someone a sudden fright (/fg9/)
/fluut/	from /floo/	to delouse someone (/flw/, /fly/)
/tluut/	from /tloo/	to regret

10.36 Compare also the following form arising from a hollow verb:-

/feKawt/	from /fooK/	to give in marriage (/fwK/) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /fooiK/ or /fekoot/)
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10.37 Verbs with infixed /t/

These verbs are of two patterns, viz. /CatCeC/ and /eCteGuuC/. Verbal forms of both patterns give rise to verbal nouns of the same pattern, /CeteCGuut/, (/eCteCGuut/). Thus:-

/Ketewbuut/	from /Katteb/	to change into
	and from /eKteluub/	to be upset, worried
/Keterbuut/	from /Katreb/	to approach; (sun) to be nearly set
	and from /eKteruub/	to approach; (sun) to be nearly set

10.38 This kind of verbal noun also coincides in M with the relevant 3 f.s. perfect form of the verb.

10.39 Examples of verbal nouns derived from verbal forms of the patterns /CatCeC/ and /eCteGuuC/ are given below:-

CatCeC

/6aateksuut/	from /6aatkes/	to be bored
/fetertuut/	from /fatret/	to be persuaded

10.40 Compare the following form from a geminate root:-

/Ketelluut/	from /Kattel/	to spill ( <u>intrans.</u> )
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where the geminate radical is explicit in the verbal noun.



10.41 Compare also the following:-

/ketesyut/ from /kassi/ to have new clothes

where the infix */t/* is explicit in the verbal noun and elided in the verbal form.

10.42 Occasionally the verbal noun has a slightly different syllabic structure, the pattern being realised as */eCteCCuut/*. This occurs principally where *C<sup>1</sup>* is a nasal, */l/* or */r/* (see 1.103 ). Thus:-

/ewtebKawt/	from /latbeK/	to be friends
/entefzuut/	from /natfez/	to stub one's toes
/entefzawt/	from /natfež/	to shiver
/erteKyuut/	from /ratKi/	to read

10.43 Compare with *C<sup>2</sup> /y/* :

/eGteDawt/ from /GatyeD/ to become angry

10.44 and with *C<sup>3</sup> /g/* :

/getmuut/	from /gatma/	to gather (intrans.)
/ertefuut/	from /ratfa/	to be lifted

eCteCuuC

/6aatebruut/	from /6aatebuur/	to be given a lift
/6aatedruut/	from /6aateduur/	to ask pardon
/6aatewmuut/	from /9aateluum/	to teach
/6aatewruut/	from /6aatewuur/	to be sore
/ebterkuut/	from /ebteruuk/	to be blessed
/Getewtuut/	from /eGteluut/	not to have had enough sleep
/ekteHluut/	from /ekteHawl/	to apply kohl
/emtewkuut/	from /emteluuk/	to own much property
/xeteGKawt/	from /exteGawK/	to appear untrustworthy

10.45

Compare the following with geminate roots:-

/fterrawt/	from /efterawr/	to yawn (for the effect of geminate /r/ on the following vowel, see 1.8, 1.9)
/eŋtelluut/	from /eŋtelawl/	to wander, move far away
	and from /ŋattel/	to flee to another country

10.46

Other patterns of verbal nouns derived from /t/ infixed verbal forms can occur, as:-

/Hewfiit/	from /eHteluuf/	to ally oneself with
/ŋheriit/	from /eŋtehuur/	to be famous (though this form is primarily used nominally to describe a high and narrow mountain peak)

/xewfiit/	from /exteluuf/	to differ
/zeynet/	from /ezteyuun/	to be dressed up, beautified

10.47 Verbs with /ʒ/ prefix

Verbal forms with /ʒ/ prefix are of two types, viz.  
/ʒeCCuuC/, and /ʒ(e)CeeCeC/. Both give rise to verbal nouns of  
the pattern /ʒeCCeCuut/. Thus:-

/ʒebdeluut/	from /ʒebduul/	to exchange
	and from /ʒebeedel/	to take in exchange
/ʒedferuut/	from /ʒedfuur/	to be pushed
	and from /ʒedeefer/	to push and shove

10.48 Some examples of verbal nouns derived from verbal forms  
of the patterns /ʒeCCuuC/ and /ʒeCeeCeC/ are given below:-

ʒeCCuuC

/ʒaamenuut/	from /ʒaamuun/	to believe (/6mn/)
/ʒewbeduut/	from /ʒewbuud/	to allow oneself; to sur- render oneself (/lbd/)
/ʒenHeruut/	from /ʒenHawr/	to complain
/ʒexberuut/	from /ʒexbuur/	to ask

10.49 Compare with C<sup>2</sup> a weak radical:-

/ʒhuubuut/	from /ʒehwuub/	to warm at the fire ( <u>trans.</u> )
	and from /ʒeheeweb/	to imagine; look out for someone

Compare also with  $C^2$  /9/, and  $C^3$  a weak radical:-

/ʒeduut/ from /ʒooda/ to curse

ʒeCeeCeC

/ʒegewbuut/ from /ʒegeeweb/ to answer

/ʒemesHuut/ from /ʒemeeseH/ to shake hands

10.50 The verbal noun pattern is occasionally /ʒeCCeGuut/,  
as:-

/ʒebʒeruut/ from /ʒebeeʒer/ to get a reward for bringing  
good news

/ʒexTeruut/ from /ʒexaaTer/ to bet

10.51 Verbal nouns of the pattern /CvCC/ rarely occur, as:-

/deHs/ from /ʒedHaws/ to become angry with some-  
one pestering you

and from /ʒedeeHes/ to pester someone and begin  
to quarrel

10.52 Verbs with /en-/ prefix

The single attested example of a tri-radical verbal  
form with /en-/ prefix is given below:-

/KayTa/ from /enKayTa/ to be cut; thirsty (/KT9/)

10.53 The majority of verbal forms with /en-/ prefix are quad-  
riliteral, and will be discussed in the section on quadriliteral  
verbal noun patterns below (see 10.59, 10.60).

10.54 Quadriliteral verbs

Simple quadriliteral verbal forms

The pattern of verbal nouns derived from simple quadriliteral verbal forms of the pattern /CaCCeC/ is /CeCCeCeet/.

Thus:-

/kerbeleet/	from /karbel/	to crawl
/terdemeet/	from /tardem/	to mumble, mouthe, talk nonsense
/xerbeŕeet/	from /xarbeŕ/	to put into disorder

- 10.55 Compare the following, derived from quadriliteral forms with a final geminate radical and an infix /w/ and /y/ :

/zeHewlleet/	from /zeHewluul/	to slide slowly over a surface
/zeGayrraat/	from /zeGayruur/	to scream

10.56 Derived quadriliteral verbal forms

The pattern of verbal nouns derived from the derived verbal form of the pattern /aCaCCeC/ is likewise /CeCCeCeet/.

Thus:-

/derbeŕeet/	from /adarbeŕ/	to flap the lips to make camels come
/KerbeTaat/	from /aKarbeT/	to curl

- 10.57 Compare the verbal noun forms derived from quadriliteral verbal forms with reduplicated geminate radicals:-

/degdegeet/	from /adagdeg/	to tap
/debdebeet/	from /adabdeb/	to leave hanging, swinging
/KežKežaat/	from /aKažKež/	to creak, stretch

10.58 This verbal noun pattern is, however, not equivalent to the 3 f.s. perfect form of the verb, which is prefixed by /a-/.

10.59 It is thus seen that the verbal noun pattern of these forms of the quadriliteral verb, derived and simple, is the same. The pattern can be /CeCCeCeet/ in quadriliteral verbal forms with a prefixed /en-/, as:-

/KerbeTaat/	from /enKerbuuT/	to be curled, wrinkled
/tertereet/	from /entertuur/	to nag
/xerbešeet/	from /enxerbuuš/	to be disarranged
/xežxežaat/	from /enxežxawž/	to shake ( <u>intrans.</u> )

10.60 However, the pattern /enCaCCeCuut/ with the /en-/ prefix explicit does also occur, as:-

/enHatmeluut/	from /enHetmuul/	to be smashed
/enHaTbeluut/	from /enHeTbuul/	to be swollen

11. PATTERNS OF SINGULAR  
TRI - RADICAL FORMS  
WITH / m-/ PREFIX

P A T T E R N S   O F   S I N G U L A R  
T R I - R A D I C A L   F O R M S  
W I T H   / m - /   P R E F I X

meCCvVC

11.1        meCCaaC

This pattern is a conditioned variant of the pattern /meCCeeC/ discussed below (q.v. 11.5 ff.), occurring after glottalized and guttural consonants. Some examples also occur where the long /aa/ vowel follows an /r/ radical, as:-

/meGraab/	evening; West
/meKraaʒ/	shears
/meʒraaH/	tooth

11.2        Rarely, the long /aa/ vowel occurs preceding a glottalized or guttural consonant, as:-

/meTbaax/	cooking area
/mexbaaT/	cartridge

11.3        Compare also the following:-

/menʒaar/	saw
-----------	-----

where the final radical /r/ has influenced the long vowel. (See 1.9)

11.4        Other examples of forms of the /meCCaaC/ pattern are included with forms of the /meCCeeC/ pattern below (q.v. 11.5 ff.).



11.5      meCCeeC

This is a common pattern for nouns of instrument,

Thus:-

/maadeeb/	sticks to remove heated stones from the fire (/9db/)
/mebreed/	file
/meDxaam/	pincers
/meftteeH/	key (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mefttooH/ and /meftaaH/)
/meHmees/	coffee roaster
/meKdeef/	oar
/menKaar/	earth adze
/menKaaš/	pincers
/menweeH/	bottle
/menxaal/	sieve
/merKaaS/	crutch, walking stick
/mersee/	anchor (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /marsee/, anchorage)
/mešreeK/	comb
/mešweeS/	toothstick, toothpick

11.6      /meCCeeC/ occurs also on occasion as the M equivalent of the Ar /maf9al/ or /maf9il/ pattern, as:-

/maadeen/	copper, metal (cf. Ar /ma9din/)
/meglees/	a telling off; meeting place (cf. Ar /majlis/)
/meGraab/	evening; West (cf. Ar /maGrib/)
/meHmeel/	boat (cf. Ar /maHmil/)

/merkeeb/	boat (cf. Ar /markab/)
/merkeez/	station (cf. Ar /markaz/, and <u>Jahn</u> /markaz/, ramrod)

11.7

Other nominal forms also occur, as:-

/maasees/	vegetation (/9ss/)
/medreem/	Achilles tendon, heel
/meDHaam/	bladder
/megree/	wooden rifle stock (/gry/)
/meGfeez/	wrapping, package
/meHfeef/	head rope, headcloth
/meHfeer/	basket
/mewsee/	rain (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /m-lesaa/) (/lsw/, /lsy/)
/menHaaʒ/	slice, sliver
/menSaab/	arbitrator, judge
/menweeH/	battle
/menweeS/	wrestling
/merHaam/	womb
/meSfeef/	unsewn hem
/meSHaaf/	virgin
/meʒxaal/	filth
/metwee/	green fodder (/twy/)
/mexfeef/	cloth
/mexTaar/	journey, wandering
	etc.

11.8        meCCayC

Forms of this pattern are conditioned variants of the pattern /meCCiiC/, and are included in the examples given under that pattern (q.v. 11.9 below).

11.9

meCCiiC

This is commonly the pattern of the passive participle of the simple verb, as:-

/maat <u>i</u> im/	from /6oot <u>e</u> m/,	to poultice
/meHbi <u>i</u> s/	from /Hebu <u>s</u> /,	to take prisoner, imprison
		etc. (See 12.19 ff.)

11.10

Forms of the pattern /meCCiiC/ can also occur nominally, but this is relatively rare. Some examples are given below:-

/megli <u>i</u> l/	cooking hearth
/megSay <u>S</u> /	village lane
/meHgi <u>i</u> r/	hollow under the Adam's apple
/meHli <u>i</u> b/	suckling camel calf
/meHmi <u>i</u> S/	skin of a little goat
/mekdi <u>i</u> s/	heap, sand castle
/merKay <u>d</u> /	rough track
/mert <u>i</u> iK/	she-camel with teat-shield on
/mesgi <u>i</u> d/	mosque
/mesK <u>i</u> iK/	wooden spit
/mexli <u>i</u> K/	poor, miserable person

11.11      meCCooC

Forms of this pattern occur less commonly than forms of the patterns /meCCeeC/ and /meCCiiC/ discussed above (q.v. 11.5,11.9) and appear to be largely confined to nouns of place, as:-

/meGrooK/	deep waters
/meGrooz/	quicksand
/mehnoon/	area of cultivation near a town
/mesyool/	valley bottom
/meThoos/	slippery place

## 11.12      However, compare also the three examples below:-

/meKSooS/	moustache
/mensoob/	pubic hair
/mešwoof/	back sight of a rifle

11.14 meGGuuC

This is occasionally the pattern assumed by passive participial forms of the /maf9uul/ pattern borrowed from Ar, as:-

/maasuul/	responsible
/mebruuk/	blessed

However, most words borrowed from Ar with an original /uu/ replace this long vowel by /aw/ (see Phonology 1.27).

Thus:-

/maarawf/	favour (/9rf/)
/meghawd/	effort, striving (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mejehuud/)
/meSrawf/	rations, supplies
/meTlawb/	aim, desire
	etc.

11.15            However, a form of this pattern was attested where there is no Ar equivalent form:-

/medGaw <sup>h</sup> /	pointed mountain (from the verb /deGaa <sup>h</sup> /, to prick, poke)
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11.16      meCaC

This pattern is confined to forms derived from roots with geminate radicals, as:-

/meda <sup>1</sup> k/	striker of a rifle
/merad <sup>1</sup> /	return
/meSa <sup>1</sup> r/	turban
/meTa <sup>1</sup> K/	pestle
/mexad <sup>1</sup> /	hairpin

11.17      When followed by a vocalic suffix the geminate radical is explicit, as:-

/amxaddi/*	my hairpin
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11.18      Compare also the following comparable forms in Jahn:-

<u>Jahn</u>	/medeKK/	pestle
<u>Jahn</u>	/meredd/	return
<u>Jahn</u>	/meSarr/	turban

where the geminate radicals are also explicit.

\* The vowel of /Ce-/ initial syllables is invariably elided on the prefixation of the definite article, /a-/.

11.19

maCCeC

This is a common pattern, <sup>occasionally</sup> corresponding to the Ar pattern /maf9il/, as:-

/ma <sup>!</sup> fSel/	joint
/ma <sup>!</sup> gdel/	bracelet
/ma <sup>!</sup> kHel/	<u>kohl</u> stick or feath
/ma <sup>!</sup> Kma6/	corner of the eye (/Km9/)
/ma <sup>!</sup> smer/	nail (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mesmoor/)
/ma <sup>!</sup> SHer/	branding iron
/ma <sup>!</sup> wred/	watering place
/ma <sup>!</sup> wrem/	funnel for pitch

11.20

In forms with medial weak radicals the pattern is

/meCawC/, /meCayC/, as:-

/meKawd/	track, path (/Kwd/)
/mexayT/	needle (/xyT/)



meCCvCvvt

11.21

meCCeCaat

This pattern is a conditioned variant of the pattern /meCCeGeet/ discussed below (q.v. ~~11.22~~ 11.22 ), the long /aa/ vowel occurring only after glottalized or guttural consonants. Forms of this pattern are included in the examples given under the pattern /meCCeGeet/.

11.22      meCCeCeet

Forms of this pattern are frequently nouns of instrument or place, but nouns of action, and parts and conditions of the body also occur. Thus:-

## 11.23      Nouns of instrument:-

/meHkebeet/	camel girth
/meKtereet/	thread
/meTHeneet/	grinding stone (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mTaHenaat/)

## 11.24      Nouns of place:-

/meHfeDaat/	wallet on a <u>khanjar</u>
/melweyeet/	mountain pass
/merzeefeet/	cache

## 11.25      Nouns of action:-

/mewbedeet/	wound, bullet hole
(from /ewbuud/, to shoot, strike)	
/mewTemeet/	slap
(from /leTawm/, to slap the face)	
/menKereet/	a vulgar gesture

## 11.26      Nouns of parts and conditions of the body:-

/melHeyeet/	molar tooth
/mesxemeet/	itchy spot

11.27      meCCeGoot

The only attested forms of this pattern are given  
below:-

/megzeroot/	beast for slaughter
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11.28      With a final /9/ radical the pattern is realised as  
/meCCoot/:-

/meK(e)šoot/	dead tree (/Kš9/)
/menwoot/	dark rain cloud (/nw9/)

11.29      meCCeCuut

This is a rare pattern, and the only attested forms  
are given below:-

/meHferuut/	pit, hole
/meHzemuut/	waist
/mewseruut/	hobbled she-camel

However, the last example is probably better considered as an  
adjectival form.

meCvCCvvt

11.30

meCeCCaat

This pattern is a conditioned variant of the pattern /meCeCCeet/ discussed below (q.v. //11331), the long /aa/ vowel occurring only after glottalized and guttural consonants. Examples of forms of this pattern are included under the pattern /meCeCCeet/.

11.31 meCeCCeet

As the /meCCeCeet/ pattern discussed above (q.v. 11.22)  
 this is also a common pattern for nouns of instrument, place,  
 and parts of the body. Thus:-

## 11.32 Nouns of instrument:-

/me6amdeet/	pillow (/e/ > /a/ in the second syllable after an original voiced pharyngeal consonant).
/megemreet/	incense burner
/meKedreet/	fire-stones
/merewHaat/	fan
/meſerTaat/	noose

## 11.33 Nouns of place:-

/meKebreet/	graveyard
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## 11.34 Nouns of parts of the body:-

/mekendeet/	big toe, thumb
/meKerfeet/	shoulder blade
/metenyeeet/	incisor tooth

11.35      meCeCGuut

Forms of this pattern are rare. The only attested nominal examples are given below:-

/megef(f)uut/	corpse (/gff/)
/meHedruut/	pen, byre
/mesewmuut/	votive slaughter animal (/slm/)

## 11.36      Compare the following form with a final /y/ radical:-

/meKerawt/	hiding place (/Kry/)
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meGvCCet

11.37

meCaCCet

This rare pattern is confined to forms derived from  
geminate roots, or with a medial weak radical, as:-

/megannet/	jinn-haunted place (cf. J /mgant/, and <u>Jahn</u> /mejennet/, cemetery) (/gnn/)
/mešaddet/	camel girth (cf. J /mšdet/) (/šdd/)
/mešawfet/	protected person, thing (/šwf/)



12. PARTICIPIAL PATTERNS

PARTICIPIAL PATTERNS

12.1            Participial patterns will be discussed briefly only, since strictly speaking they are verbal rather than nominal, (as the active participle of the simple verb with its meaning of future aspect "about to ..., going to ..."). However, many participial forms are also used adjectivally, and are all inflected.

12.2            The participial forms in M are completely regular, with certain definable and predictable variations. Different verbal forms give rise to differing participial forms, which are inflected for masculine singular, feminine singular, masculine dual, feminine dual, masculine plural and feminine plural, or a common plural.

12.3            The more commonly occurring participial patterns derived from the simple verb will be discussed more fully than participial forms arising from derived verb forms to illustrate the conditioned variant forms which occur.

12.4            Active participial patterns arising from the simple verb

The patterns of the active participial forms are set out below:-

/CeCCoona/	m. s.
/CeCCiita/	f. s.
/CeCCooni/	m. d.
/CeCCawti/	f. d.
/CeCiiCa/	m. pl.
/CeCCuuten/	f. pl.

12.5 As mentioned above, these participial forms have a future aspect, a form such as /Kefdoona/ (m. s.) from /Kefuud/, to go down, meaning "about to go down, going to go down", etc.

12.6 Thus the complete active participial forms derived from the verb /Kefuud/, to go down, are as follows:-

/Kefdoona/	m. s.
/Kefdiiita/	f. s.
/Kefdooni/	m. d.
/Kefdawti/	f. d.
/Kefiida/	m. pl.
/Kefduuten/	f. pl.

Examples illustrating variant forms are given below:-

12.7 With  $C^3$  a glottalized or a guttural consonant, /CeCCiita/ and /CeCCuuten/ are realised as /CeCCayta/ and /CeCCawten/ respectively, as -

/herKayta/	f. s.	from /heruuK/, to steal
/herKawten/	f. pl.	

(See 1.30 ff.)

12.8 With  $C^1$  /l/, /CvCC-/ is realised as /ewCeC-/, as -

/ewbedoona/	m. s.	from /ewbuud/, to hit (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /lebdooone/)
/ewbediita/	f. s.	
/ewbedooni/	m. d.	
/ewbedawti/	f. d.	
/ewbiida/	m. pl.	
/ewbeduuten/	f. pl.	

(See 1.103)

12.9 With  $C^1$  /9/, /CvCC-/ is realised as /CaaCeC-/, as -

/6aameroona/	m. s.	from /6aamuur/, to say (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /am(e)roone/)
/6aameriita/	f. s.	
/6aamerooni/	m. d.	
/6aamerawti/	f. d.	
/6aamiira/	m. pl.	
/6aameruuten/	f. pl.	

(See 1.76 ff.)

12.10 With  $C^3$  /9/, /CvCC-/ is realised as /CeC-/ (and the feminine markers /iita/ and /-uuten/ as /-ayta/ and /awten/ respectively), as -

/weKoonaa/	m. s.	from /wiika/, to be (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /wuKooone/)
/weKayta/	f. s.	
/weKooni/	m. d.	

/weKawti/	f. d.
/weKiiya/	m. pl.
/weKawten/	f. pl.

(See 1.91, 1.110, 1.30 ff.)

12.11 With  $C^3$  /6/, /CvCC-/ is realised as /CvCy-/, as -

/melyoona/	m. s.	from /miile6/, to be full (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /meloone/)
/melyiita/	f. s.	
/melyooni/	m. d.	
/melyawti/	f. d.	
/meliya/	m. pl.	
/melyuuten/	f. pl.	

(See 1.69)

12.12 With  $C^2$  /6/, /CvCC-/ is realised as /CaaC-/, as -

/saamoona/	m. s.	from /soom/, to sell (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /semoone/)
/saamita/	f. s.	
/saamooni/	m. d.	
/saamawti/	f. d.	
/saayiima/	m. pl.	
/saamuuten/	f. pl.	

(See 1.68, 1.70)

12.13 With  $C^3$  /y/, the /y/ radical is elided or not. Compare the following forms -

/kesoona/	m. s.	from /kesuu/, to find, meet (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /kasiyoone/)
/kesiita/	f. s.	
/kesooni/	m. d.	
/kesawti/	f. d.	
/kesiia/	m. pl.	
/kesuurten/	f. pl.	

and -

/senyoona/	m. s.	from /šiini/, to see (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /senioone/)
/senyiita/	f. s.	
/senyooni/	m. d.	
/senyawti/	f. d.	
/seniia/	m. pl.	
/senyuuten/	f. pl.	

12.14 In forms derived from geminate roots, the gemination occurs throughout, as -

/delloona/	m. s.	from /del(1)/, to know (a road)
/delliita/	f. s.	
/dellooni/	m. d.	
/dellawti/	f. d.	
/deliila/	m. pl.	
/delluuten/	f. pl.	

12.15 With medial /w/, /CvCC-/ is realised as /CeC-/ , as -

/metoona/	m. s.	from /muut/, to die
/metiita/	f. s.	
/metooni/	m. d.	
/metawti/	f. d.	
/meyiita/	m. pl.	
/metuuten/	f. pl.	

12.16 Compare with forms with medial /y/, where /CvCC-/ is realised as /CiiC-/, as -

/siiroona/	m. s.	from /seyuur/, to go (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /siiroone/)
/siiriita/	f. s.	
/siirooni/	m. d.	
/siirawti/	f. d.	
/siyiira/	m. pl.	
/siiruuten/	f. pl.	

12.17 Compare the following contracted forms with medial /w/, and C<sup>3</sup> /9/ -

/gioona/	m. s.	from /gewya/, to be hungry (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /jiyoone/)
/geyayta/	f. s.	
/glooni/	m. d.	
/giawti/	f. d.	
/giiaa/	m. pl.	
/giawten/	f. pl.	

12.18                Such, and other variations as discussed above are all in accordance with the rules of M phonology as discussed elsewhere (see 1 ff.). In the following pages a single example of a pattern alone will be given.



12.19 Passive participial patterns derived from the simple verb

These forms are also strictly regular, the patterns being as follows:-

/meCCiiC/	m. s.	(/meCCayC/ after glottalized and guttural consonants)
/meCCeCeeta/	f. s.	(/meCCeCaata/ after glottalized and guttural consonants)
/meCCiiCi/	m. d.	(/meCCayCi/ after glottalized and guttural consonants)
/meCCeCeeti/	f. d.	(/meCCeCaati/ after glottalized and guttural consonants)
/meCCeCuuten/	c. pl.	(/meCCeCawten/ after glottalized and guttural consonants)

## 12.20 Thus, from /KebuuS/, to sting, bite:-

/meKbiiS/	m. s.
/meKbeSaata/	f. s.
/meKbiiSi/	m. d.
/meKbeSaati/	f. d.
/meKbeSawten/	c. pl.

## 12.21 Passive verbs give rise to participial forms of the same pattern. Thus from /ewTaam/, to be slapped (cf. /ewTawm/, to slap):-

/mewTaym/	m. s.
/mewTemeeta/	f. s.
/mewTaymi/	m. d.
/mewTemeeti/	f. d.
/mewTemuuten/	c. pl.

12.22 Participial forms arising from derived verb forms

Mehrized forms of Ar participles, both active and passive, of the pattern /meCaG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>2</sup>eC/ can occur. Some examples are given below:-

/medawwer/	round	(cf. Ar /mudawwar/)(cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mehedwiir/)
/melabbes/	dressed	(cf. Ar /mulabbas/)
/meKaddem/	leader	(cf. Ar /muKaddam/)( <u>Jahn</u> id.)
/meTawwe6/	healer	(cf. Ar /muTawwi9/)
/mesabba/	satisfied	(cf. Ar /mušabba9/)

Compare also the following M forms:-

/megalleH/	cuckold
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Examples of the /me-/ prefixed participial patterns arising from derived verb forms are given below:-

12.23 From intensive/conative verb forms

From verb forms of the pattern /aCCvvC/ -

/mebdiid/	m. s.	from /abdeed/, to separate
/mebeddeeta/	f. s.	
/mebdiidi/	m. d.	
/mebeddeeti/	f. d.	
/mebedduuten/	c. pl.	

12.24

From verb forms of the pattern /(a)CooCeC/ -

/menooDef/	m. s.	from /anooDef/, to clean (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /manaDafe/)
/menDefeeta/	f. s.	
/menaDfi/	m. d.	
/meneDfeeti/	f. d.	
/menDefuuten/	c. pl.	

12.25

From causative verb forms

From verb forms of the pattern /heCCuuC/ and its variant patterns -

/mehaKfed/	m. s.	from /heKfuud/, to put down (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mahaKabDe/, from /heKbood/, to hand over)
/meheKfedeeta/	f. s.	
/mehaKfedi/	m. d.	
/meheKfedêeti/	f. d.	
/meheKfeduuten/	c. pl.	

12.26

From verb forms with /-t-/ infix

/mentiifez/	m. s.	from /natfez/, to stub one's toes (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mentêjife/, from /netjif/, to be scattered)
/mentefzeeta/	f. s.	
/mentafzi/	m. d.	
/mentefzeeti/	f. d.	
/mentefzuuten/	c. pl.	

12.27

From verb forms with /ʒe-/ prefix

/meʒasdeK/	m. s.	from /ʒesduuK/, to believe (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /meʒemedde/ from /ʒemduud/, to reach, achieve)
/meʒesdeKaata/	f. s.	
/meʒasdeKi/	m. d.	
/meʒesdeKaati/	f. d.	
/meʒesdeKawten/	c. pl.	

12.28

Participial forms derived from simple quadriliteral verbal forms have the /me-/ prefix as the participial forms arising from derived verb forms discussed above. Thus:-

/mekarbel/	m. s.	from /karbel/, to crawl (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /makarbele/)
/mekerbeleeta/	f. s.	
/mekarbeli/	m. d.	
/mekerbeleeti/	f. d.	
/mekerbeluuten/	c. pl.	

12.29

From quadriliteral verb forms with /en-/ prefix

/menKarbeT/	m. s.	from /enKarbuuT/, to be curled, wrinkled; to clench hands in terror
/menKerbeTaata/	f. s.	
/menKarbeTi/	m. d.	
/menKerbeTaati/	f. d.	
/menKerbeTawten/	c. pl.	

13. ADJECTIVAL PATTERNS

A D J E C T I V A L   P A T T E R N S

13.1            Adjectival forms and patterns are considered here in a separate section, partly for convenience, and partly because they display certain features and patterns of their own.

13.2            They will be discussed as follows:-

Masculine singular adjectival patterns

Feminine singular adjectival patterns

Unusual singular adjectival patterns

Relationships between masculine and feminine singular adjectival patterns

Masculine plural adjectival patterns

Feminine plural adjectival patterns

Unusual plural adjectival patterns

Relationships between masculine and feminine adjectival patterns

Relationships between masculine singular and plural adjectival patterns

Relationships between feminine singular and plural feminine patterns

Commonly occurring adjectival pattern m.s.;f.s. : m.pl.;f.pl.

Adjectives of colour

This method, though inevitably leading to a certain amount of undesirable repetition, is adopted for the sake of clarity and convenience of reference.

13.3 Masculine singular adjectival patterns

The two most commonly occurring masculine singular adjectival patterns are /CeCayC/ and /CvvCvC/.

13.4 CeCayC

The diphthong /ay/ is bound, and not a conditioned variant of the long vowel /ii/, adjectival forms of the pattern /CeCiic/ being rare.

13.5 M has /CeCayC/ where the comparable Ar form is of the pattern /CeCiic/. Thus:-

/bexayl/	mean, grasping (cf. Ar /baxiil/)
/feKayr/	poor (cf. Ar /faKiir/)
/Gezayr/	deep; clever (cf. Ar /Gaziir/)
/KeSayr/	short (cf. Ar /KaSiir/)
/neHayf/	lean, thin (cf. Ar /naHiif/)
/Berayf/	noble (cf. Ar /Bariif/)
/temayn/	fine, expensive (cf. Ar /tamiin/)
/Tewayl/	long, tall (cf. Ar /Tawiil/)
/xefayf/	light (cf. Ar /xafiif/)
	etc. (See 1.35)

13.6 Compare with final weak radical /y/:-

/Keway/	strong, cruel (cf. Ar /Kawiif/)
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13.7

Compare also the following:-

/deHays/	tiresome, tiring
/deray6/	strange, stranger
/hemayg/	stupid
/Hešaym/	respectable
/Hežayž/	mean, nasty
/xemaym/	cruel
/zehayb/	ready



13.8 CvvCvC

With the pattern /CeGayC/ (see 13.4 above), this is one of the commonest masculine singular adjectival patterns. The long vowel of the first syllable is /oo/ or /ee/ (and its conditioned variant /aa/). (See also 2.17) Thus:-

13.9 CooCeC

/6ooyel/	small, mean
/booyer/	dishonest, swindling
/fooreG/	fully grown
/foosel/	lazy
/Hoozer/	ready
/KoomeH/	bad
/noodel/	unpleasant

## 13.10 Compare with final /y/:-

/Soofi/	clear
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## 13.11 and with final (earlier) /9/:-

/Sooge6/	brave
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13.12 CeeCeC (CaaCeC)

/KaaSem/	cold
/seehel/	simple, easy (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /soohel/ or /saahel/)

/Saaber/	sour
/Saafer/	yellow
/weeTa6/	smooth (/wT6/) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /wuTaa/)

13.13

Compare with final /9/:-

/Kaaſe6/	stale (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Kooſa/)
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GvGvvG13.14      /CeGeeC/ and its conditioned variant /CeCaaC/

This pattern occurs commonly, though less so than the patterns /CeGayC/ and /CvvCvC/. Some examples are given below:-

/bereeS/	naked (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /bereeS/, leprous)
/beheeS/	of good appearance but unpleasant character
/dekeem/	blunt
/Delee6/	crippled
/feTaa6/	bare, unadorned
/gebeeH/	blunt (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /jibaaH/)
/GeleeZ/	solid
/Hedeeb/	hunchbacked
/remeem/	brittle
/Seneew/	deaf (/Snw/)
/seweew/	transparent
/seHaaH/	sharp
/sedeer/	stiff, obstinate
/tefeel/	crippled
/xerees/	gap-toothed
/xezeer/	hare-lipped
/yedeem/	new

13.15      GeCiiC

Adjectival forms of this pattern are rare. The attested examples are given in full below:-

/6aagiim/	dumb (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /ajeem/)
/6aawiir/	blind (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /aweer/)
/gediim/	lopped; leprous
/KeriiH/	shaven-headed
/xetiim/	weakly

13.16      /GeGuuC/ and its conditioned variant /GeCawC/

The few attested forms of this uncommon adjectival pattern are given below:-

/heḡawr/	green, yellow, blue (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Haḡoor/)
/lebuun/	white (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /laboon/)
/leyuun/	soft (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /liyoon/)

13.17 CayCeC

Adjectival forms of this pattern occur infrequently,

as:-

/baydi/	lying
/Haymel/	right (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Hiimel/ and /Hamiil/)
/Haywel/	stupid (cf. <u>Jahn</u> with various vowelings:- /Haywel/, /Haywol/, /Haywul/)
/Kayšab/	dry (/Kš9/)
/šaymel/	left
/xaylef/	following, next

However, /CayCeC/ is also the common pattern of the verbal noun of the simple verb, and adjectives of this pattern may better be considered as verbal nouns used in an adjectival sense. (See 10.3)

13.18 CvCC

This pattern occurs as the pattern of adjectival forms with hollow or geminate roots. Thus:-

<u>CaCC</u>	/SaH(H)/	healthy, alive
<u>CayC</u>	/ʔayK/	cramped, narrow
<u>CeeC</u>	/nee6/	raw
<u>CiiC</u>	/giid/	good
<u>GooC</u>	/ʃoox/	big (m. only)
	/noob/	big (f. only)

13.19 CvCCay

/CeCCay/ occurs as the common pattern of the relative adjective, as:-

/6aamKāy/	middling, medium
/6aarbāy/	Arab (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /arbi/)
/bed(e)wāy/	bedouin (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /bedwi/)
/feG(e)šāy/	having much milk (humans, animals)
/hendāy/	Indian
/Hersāy/	Harsuusi
/Haaw(e)lāy/	ancient (/6wl/)
/mehrāy/	Mehri (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mehr/)
/šeHrāy/	Shahri

Feminine singular adjectival patterns13.20      CvCayGet

The frequently occurring singular pattern /CeCayC/ with the feminine marker /-et/ is the most common feminine singular adjectival pattern, the relevant masculine singular adjectival form usually being of the pattern /CeCayC/. Some examples of feminine adjectival forms of this pattern are given below:-

/beSayret/	sensible
/dewaylet/	old, worn out
/feTaynet/	clever
/reHaymet/	beautiful
/rexaySet/	inexpensive
/teKaylet/	heavy

13.21      In forms with final /f/ and /s/, this pattern is realised as /CeCeCt/, as:-

/deHest/	tiresome
/negest/	impure
/neHeft/	lean, thin
/sexeft/	weakly, idiot
/šereft/	noble
/xefeft/	light

CvCCvvt and CvCvCvvt13.22 CeCCeet and CeCeCeet

Forms with the feminine marker /-eet/ occur rarely in comparison with /CeCCiit/, /CeCeCiit/ discussed below. Some examples are given below:-

13.23 CeCCeet

/6aaṣreet/	beloved
/Hedbeet/	hunchbacked

13.24 CeCeCeet

There is considerable overlap between /CvCC-/ and /CvCvC-/ (see 1.124 ). Thus a form such as /6aagemeet/ might better be written /6aagmeet/.

13.25 CeCCiit (CeCCayt)

This is a common feminine singular adjectival pattern. Examples are given below:-

/bedyiit/	lying
/gedmiit/	lopped; leprous
/hemgiit/	stupid
/remmiit/	thin, brittle
/Sebriit/	sour
/Senwiit/	deaf
/xersiit/	gap-toothed



13.26

Forms with the conditioned variant feminine marker

/-ayt/ occur where  $C^3$  is a guttural or a glottalized consonant, as:-

/gebHayt/	blunt
/semHayt/	flat, smooth
/SeHHayt/	healthy, alive
/šeH(H)ayt/	sharp

13.27

With  $C^3$  the voiced pharyngeal /ɣ/, /CeCCiit/ is realised

as /CeCayt/, as:-

/Delayt/	crippled
/feTayt/	bare, unadorned
/Kešayt/	dry
/Selayt/	balding, bald

13.28

CeCeCiit

As with /CvCCeet/ and /CvCvCeet/ above, there is considerable overlap between /CvCCiit/ and /CvCvCiit/, and the following examples of forms of this pattern might also be written and considered as a sub-section of the pattern /CeCCiit/:-

/6aaferiit/	red (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /afiroot/)
/hežeriit/	green, yellow, blue
/Heweliit/	stupid, mad (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Hauliit/)
/šederiit/	stiff, obstinate
/tefeliit/	crippled
/xetemiit/	weakly
/xezeriit/	hare-lipped

13.29 CeCCoot and CeCeCoot

Examples of forms with the feminine marker /-oot/ are rare. The attested examples are given below:-

13.30 CeCeCoot

/yedenoot/                  new

13.31 CeCCoot

With final /9/ and retrogressive stress (see

/faaroot/                  brave (/fr9/)

13.32                  Relative adjectives with final /-ay/ can have a feminine with the feminine marker /-oot/, as:-

/feG(e)syoot/                  having much milk (animals, humans)

/hendyoot/                  Indian

However, the more common pattern of the feminine form of the relative adjective is /CeCCayyet/ (see below 13.36).

13.33 CvCCet

This is a commonly occurring pattern of the feminine singular adjective. It occurs commonly as the feminine form of the masculine pattern /CvvCvC/. Thus:-

13.34	/CaCCet/	/6aylet/ (m. s. /6ooyel/)	small, mean
		/bayret/ (m. s. /booyer/)	dishonest, swindling
		/farGet/ (m. s. /fooreG/)	fully grown
		/faslet/ (m. s. /foosel/)	lazy
		/faTret/ (m. s. /fooTer/)	not fasting
		/Hažret/ (m. s. /Haažer/)	present, ready
		/KamHet/ (m. s. /KoomeH/)	bad
		/nadlet/ (m. s. /noodel/)	unpleasant

Compare the following feminine of the masculine form of the rare pattern /CvCCawC/:-

/Kannet/ (m. s. /Kannawm/)	small, young (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Kanett/)
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Where  $G^3$  is the voiced pharyngeal /9/, the pattern can be realised as /CaCat/, as:-

/Ṣagat/ (m. s. /Ṣooge6/)	brave
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In forms with  $G^1$  glottalized consonant /S/ the short /a/ vowel of the first syllable is on occasion lengthened and realised as /aa/. Thus:-

/Saabret/	(m. s. /Soober/)	patient (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Saaberet/)
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/Saafyet/	(m. s. /Soofi/)	pure
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### 13.35 /CayCet/ and /CiiCet/

These patterns occur infrequently in forms with a medial weak radical, as:-

/liinet/	(m. s. /leyuun/)	soft
/ʔayKet/	(m. s. /ʔayK/)	narrow (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /ʔayyiKat/)

An example was attested of the contracted pattern /CeCet/ in a form with medial /y/, where the relevant masculine singular form displays similar contraction. Thus:-

/gedet/	(m. s. /giid/)	good (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /jitt/ /jiidet/ and /jidd/)
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CvCCayyet13.36 CeCCayyet

This pattern is restricted to the feminine form of the relative adjective whose masculine form is of the pattern /CeCCay/. Thus:-

/6aarbayyet/	Arab
/bedwayyet/	Bedouin
/Hebsayyet/	Ethiopian
/Hersayyet/	Harsuusi
/mehrayyet/	Mahri (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /mehriyyoot/)
/seHrayyet/	Shahri

13.37 However, relative adjectival forms of other patterns can occur with the feminine markers /-iit/ and /-et/, as:-

/6aamKyiiit/	medium, middling
/Haawelyet/	ancient

13.38 CvCvGet

Forms of this pattern, which is a rare one, usually have the stress on the second syllable, as:-

/KeSeret/	short
/keremet/	generous

13.39 Unusual singular adjectival patterns

The pattern with the suffix /-oon/ is probably to be related to the Ar pattern with the suffix /-aan/. Only two examples were attested:-

/seboon;seboonet/	sated, satisfied (cf. Ar /ḡabḡaan/)
/ḡaagboon;ḡaagboonet/	(one) in love

13.40 Relationships between the masculine and feminine singular adjectival patterns

The most common relationships between the masculine and feminine singular adjectival patterns are given below:-

13.41 Masculine /CeCayC/;feminine /CeCayCet/

The common masculine pattern /CeCayC/ usually becomes /CeCayCet/ in the feminine form, as:-

/bexayl;bexaylet/	mean, grasping
/reKayK;reKayKet/	thin, delicate
	etc.

13.42 Compare with final /6/ realised as /y/ in the feminine form:-

/beray6;berayyet/	innocent
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13.43 With C<sup>3</sup> /s/ and /f/, masculine /CeCayC/ is /CeCeCt/ in the feminine form, as:-

/negays;negest/	impure
	(See 13.21 and 3.47 ff.)

13.44 Masculine /CeCiic/;feminine /CeCCiit/

The less common masculine pattern /CeCiic/ invariably becomes /CeCCiit/ in the feminine form, as:-

/6aawiir;6aawriit/	blind
/gediim;gedmiit/	lopped, leprous
/xetiim;xetmiit/	weakly
	etc.

13.45 Masculine /CeCeeC/ (/CeCaaC/);feminine /CeCCiit/ (/CeCCayt/)

Masculine adjectival forms of the pattern /CeCeeC/ (and its conditioned variant /CeCaaC/) become /CeCCiit/ (and its conditioned variant /CeCCayt/) in the feminine, as:-

/beheeṢ;behṢayt/	of handsome appearance but unpleasant character
/bereeṢ;berṢayt/	naked
/gebeeH;gebHayt/	blunt
/remeem;remmiit/	brittle
/Seneew;Senwiit/	deaf
/xerees;xersiit/	gap-toothed
	etc.

13.46 Compare with final /9/, where the masculine and feminine patterns are realised as /CvCvv6;CeCayt/, as:-

/feTaa6;feTayt/	bare, unadorned
/Delee6;Delayt/	crippled

13.47 Rarely, the feminine form of the masculine adjective of the pattern /CeCeeC/ is of the pattern /CeCeeCet/, as:-



/dekeem;dekeemet/          blunt

/Geleeẓ;Geleeẓet/          solid

13.48      Masculine /CvvCeC/;feminine /CaCCet/

Masculine forms of the common pattern /CvvCeC/ become /CaCCet/ in the feminine, as:-

/6ooyel;6aylet/          small, mean

/booyer;bayret/          dishonest

/fooTer;faTret/          not fasting

/Haafi;Hafyet/          barefoot

etc.

13.49      Masculine /CeCCay/;feminine /CeCCayyet/

Most commonly the relevant feminine form of the masculine relative adjective of the pattern /CeCCay/ are of the pattern /CeCCayyet/, as:-

/mehray;mehrayyet/          Mahri

/seHray;sehrayyet/          Shahri

etc.

Masculine plural adjectival patternsCvvCvvC13.50 CiiCooC

This pattern with a long /oo/ vowel in the second syllable is the most common pattern of masculine plural adjectival forms. Thus:-

/biirooy/	innocent
/biiSoor/	-sensible
/biixool/	mean, grasping (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /beexool/)
/diiHoos/	tiresome
/diiwool/	old; worn out (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /duwool/ and /diwool/)
/fiihoom/	clever
/fiirrooG/	fully grown
/fiiToon/	clever, cunning
/giihood/	diligent (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /joohod/, and /jehidiin/)
/Giiloož/	solid (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Galwoož/)
/Hiizoož/	mean, nasty
/Kiiwooy/	strong (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Kaywooy/)
/niigoos/	impure
/niiHoof/	lean, thin
/riiHoom/	beautiful (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /rayHoom/)
/riiKooK/	thin, delicate
/siihool/	simple (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /shelēet/)
/siinoon/	a year older

/siixooʃ/	weakly, idiot
/ʃiidoor/	stiff, obstinate
/Tiihoor/	pure
/Tiirrooy/	fresh (/Tr6/) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Teerii/)
/Tiiwool/	tall (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Tayiwool/)
/t̥iiKool/	heavy
/t̥iimoon/	fine, expensive
/xiifoof/	light
/xiילוoy/	bereaved, unmarried (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /xalooy/ and /xeyleey/)
/xiimoom/	cruel (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /xamoom/)
/xiizoor/	hare-lipped
/ziihoob/	prepared, ready

- 13.51           The long /ii/ vowel of the first syllable is occasionally, but not invariably, realised as /ay/ after a guttural consonant. Thus:-

/6ayʃoor/	beloved (but /6aamKooy/, middling, medium)
/Gayzoor/	deep, clever (but /Giilooʒ/, solid)
/Hayʃoom/	respectable (but /Hiizooʒ/, mean, nasty)

- 13.52           Plural forms of this pattern with other long vowels occur, but much less commonly than forms of the pattern /CiiCooC/ above.

#### CiiCeeC

Examples of such plural forms are rare, their singular forms being of varied patterns, as:-

/fiiree6/	brave (/fr9/) (s. /fare6/)
/giiyeed/	good (/gyd/) (s. /giid/) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /jiyeed/ c. pl.)
/GiiSeem/	clumsy (s. /GeSaym/) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /GaySoom/)

GvCvvC and CvGwvvC13.53      CeCeeC

Plural adjectival forms of the pattern /CeCeeC/ occur rarely in comparison with forms of the pattern /CeCooC/ below. Some examples are given below:-

/6aareeb/	Arab(s) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /areeb/)
/6aaweer/	blind (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /awiyeer/)
/dereeb/	strange(rs)
/Heweel/	stupid, mad (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Hawiyeel/)

13.54      CeCweeC

Some examples of forms with infixes /w/ of the pattern /CeCweeC/ were attested, occurring in forms with a final guttural consonant. Thus:-

/Delwee6/	crippled (/Dl9/)
/SeHweeH/	healthy, alive (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /SaHawaah/)
/Selwee6/	bald (/Sl9/) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Saluwa/)

13.55      Compare the following form with final /9/ where the vowel of the second syllable is /aa/:-

/feTwaa6/	bare, unadorned (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /fatoowa6/)
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13.56      CeCooC

Plural masculine adjectival forms of this pattern occur fairly frequently, but not as commonly as forms of the pattern /CiiCooC/ discussed above. Some examples are given below:-

/hemoog/	stupid (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /hemooj/)
/leyoon/	soft
/KeSoor/	short
/Seroof/	noble (however, the alternative plural form /HaaSroof/ also occurs with a nominal meaning)
/tefool/	crippled
/xetoom/	weakly
/yedoon/	new

13.57      CeCwooc

Plural forms with infixed /w/ occur more frequently than forms of the pattern /CeCooC/ above. Where the infixed /w/ occurs in the plural masculine form, it commonly occurs in the relevant plural feminine form also, though there are exceptions to this (see 13.58 below). Thus:-

/behwoos;behwaSten/	of good appearance, but unpleasant personality
/berwoos;berwaSten/	naked (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /boruwoos/, leprous)
/dekwoom;dekwahten/	blunt
/gebwooh;gebwahten/	blunt (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /jibooH/)
/Hedwoob;Hedwabten/	hunchbacked
/SeHwoow;SeHwawten/	light brown
/xerwoos;xerwasten/	gap-toothed

13.58                However, rarely the /w/ of the masculine plural forms is not present in the relevant plural feminine form, which has the external plural feminine marker /-uuten/. Thus:-

/6aagwoom;6aagemuuten/                dumb (cf. Jahn /ajuwoom;  
ajemuuten/)

/gedwoom;gedmuuten/                lopped, leprous

13.59                One example was attested of a plural form with an infix /y/ in the masculine form, the relevant feminine plural form having two alternative plurals, one with infix /y/, one without. Thus:-

/Kenyoön;Kenyoonten, Kanneten/                small, young

However, this common adjective is atypical in most of its forms. Thus:-

/Kennawn;Kannet : Kenyoön;Kanneten, Kenyoonten/

13.60 Masculine plural adjectives with feminine markers

These are relatively uncommon, and are of the pattern /CvCCvvt/, the long vowel of the feminine marker being /ee/ (and its conditioned variant /aa/) and /ii/ (and its conditioned variant /ay/). Thus:-

13.61	/CeCCeet/	/9aayleet/	small, mean
		/bedyeet/	lying, untruthful (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /bidieet/)
		/biireet/	dishonest (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /beyreet/)
		/seKTaat/	cowardly

13.62 With C<sup>1</sup> /n/ the pattern is realised as /eCCeCeet/, as:-

/endeleet/	lean, thin (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /nadeleet/)
(See 1.103)	

13.63	/CeCCiit/	/ʒegayt/	brave (/ʒg9/)
		/9aagziit/	lazy

13.64 Masculine adjectives with external plural markers

Examples of external plurals with the external plural suffix /-iin/ were attested, as:-

/KamHiin/	bad
/ʒebaaniin/	satisfied, sated (/ʒb9/)

13.65 The following form has the (unconditioned) suffix /-ayn/:-



/6aagebenayn/            in love

The reason for this diphthong is not clear, given the comparable form which also has /n/ preceding the vowel of the suffix, viz. /sebaaniin/, where there is no diphthongization. Moreover, from the example /KamHiin/, the long /ii/ vowel of the suffix would seem to be bound. However, these are the only three examples attested of forms with such a suffix, which is probably related to the OA comparable plural form with the suffix /-iin/, as /mut6axxer:mut6axxeriin/, late, etc.

CvCCay13.66 CaCCay

External plural forms with the suffix /-ay/ occur fairly frequently as the plural of singular forms of the pattern /CvvCvC/. Thus:-

/6aaKlay/	clever (s. /6ooKel/) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /aKeliin/)
/Haifyay/	barefoot (s. /Haafi/)
/rayžay/	resting (s. /raayež/)
/Saḡbray/	patient (s. /Soober/)
/Saafyay/	clear (s. /Soofi/)
/xaysay/	rotten (s. /xooyes/)

13.67 However, forms of this pattern can occur as the plural of singular forms of other patterns, as:-

/žiiKay/	narrow, cramped (s. /žayK/) (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /žayyiKiin/)
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CvCvv6 and CvCvvy13.68 CeCCoo6 and CeCCooy

These are the usual patterns of the masculine plural relative adjectives, as:-

/CeCCoo6/	/Heḡsoo6/	Ethiopian(s)
	/Hersoo6/	Harsuusi(s)
	/šeHroo6/	Shahri, Shahra

/CeCCooy/	/6aamKooy/	medium, middling
	/feGsooy/	having much milk (animals, humans)
	/Haaw(e)looy/	ancient

- 13.69           An exception, however, is the plural form of the singular relative adjective /bed(e)way/, which is /bedu/ (cf. Jahn /bedwii : beduu/).

13.70 Feminine plural adjectival patternsCvvCvCten13.71 CiiCaCten

The most common plural feminine adjectival pattern is /CiiCaCten/, the long vowel of the first syllable commonly being present in the relevant masculine plural form also. Thus:-

/biiTayten/	late (/bT6/) (m. pl. /biiTooy/)
/diiHasten/	tiresome, tiring (m. pl. /diiHoos/)
/fiiTanten/	clever, cunning (m. pl. /fiiToon/)
/giihadten/	diligent (m. pl. /giihood/)
/Kiiwayten/	strong (m. pl. /Kiiwooy/)
/xiimanten/	cruel (m. pl. /xiimoom/)
	etc.

CvCvCten and CvCwaCten13.72 CeCaCten

The feminine plural pattern /CeCaCten/ occurs less commonly than forms of the pattern /CiiCaCten/ above. Some examples are given below:-

/6aagazten/	lazy, incapable
/6ayKalten/	clever
/6aysarten/	accompanying, companions

/Senawten/	deaf (/Snw/)
/yedanten/	new

- 13.73 Compare the following forms with C<sup>3</sup> /9/ realised as /w/ in the plural form:-

/Delawten/	crippled
/ferawten/	brave
/Kešawten/	dry

- 13.74 CeCwaCten

A pattern with infixed /w/ is also a common plural feminine pattern. The /w/ usually occurs also in the relevant masculine plural form, as:-

/berwaSten/	naked (m. pl. /berwooS/)
/gebwaHten/	blunt (m. pl. /gebwooH/)
/Hedwabten/	hunchbacked (m. pl. /Hedwoob/)
/xerwasten/	gap-toothed (m. pl. /xerwoos/)
	etc.

CvCCayten

- 13.75 CeCCayten

This is the plural pattern of the singular feminine relative adjective of the patterns /CeCCayyet/, /CvCCyiit/, etc. (see 13.36 ). Thus:-

/6aamKayten/	medium, middling
/6aarbayten/	Arab(s)
/feGšayten/	having much milk (animals, humans)
/Haawlayten/	ancient
/mehrayten/	Mähri, Mahra

13.76 Plural forms with the external plural feminine markers  
 /-oot/ and /-uuten/ occur freely. Some examples are given below:-

/-oot/ *	/9ayloot/	small, mean
	/bayroot/	dishonest, swindling
	/faTroot/	not fasting
	/šebaanoot/	sated, satisfied (/šb9/)

/-uuten/	/6aagemuuten/	dumb
	/6aawruuten/	blind
	/bedyuuten/	lying, liars
	/gedmuuten/	leprous, lopped

\* Probably only in words of Ar origin or treated as such.

13.77 Unusual plural adjectival patterns

<u>CeCGaaC</u>	/feTTaar/ (s. /fooTer/) not fasting (m. pl.)
<u>CeCawCet</u>	/Heżawret/ (s. /Hoożer/) present, ready (m. pl.)
<u>CiiCuut</u>	/śiiHawt/ (s. /śeHaaH/) sharp (m. pl.)(cf. <u>Jahn</u> /śHawaaH/)
<u>CeCCii6</u>	/dexlii6/ (s. /dexayl/) foresworn (m. pl.)
<u>CvCCenet</u>	/6aagbenet/ in love (f. pl.) (cf. m. s. /6aagboon/)

13.78 Rarely, adjectives other than those describing colours  
have a common plural, as:-

/bedu/	Bedouin (m. and f. pl.)
/fiirooG/	fully grown (m. and f. pl.)
/giiyeed/	good (m. and f. pl.)

13.79 Relationships between masculine and feminine plural patterns

The most commonly occurring m. pl.;f.pl. relationships are given below.

13.80 The most common relationship is that of masculine plural pattern /CiiCooC/;feminine plural pattern /CiiCaCten/, as:-

/biirooy;biirayten/	innocent
/biiSoor;biiSarten/	sensible
/biiTooy;biiTayten/	late
/biixool;biixaaten/	mean, grasping (for pre-consonantal /l/ see 1.102)
/diiHoos;diiHasten/	tiresome
/diiwool;diiwaaten/	old, worn out
/fiihoom;fiihamten/	clever
/fiiToon;fiiTanten/	clever, cunning
/giihood;giihadten/	diligent
/HiiZooZ;HiiZaZten/	mean, nasty
/Kiiwooy;Kiiwayten/	strong
/niigoos;niigasten/	impure
/niiHoof;niiHaften/	lean, thin
/riiHoom;riiHamten/	beautiful
/riiKooK;riiKaKten/	thin, delicate
/siihool;siihaaten/	simple, easy
/siinoon;siinanten/	one year older
/siixoof;siixaften/	weakly, idiot
/siidoor;siidarten/	stiff, obstinate
/Tiihoor;Tiiharten/	pure



/Tiiwool;Tiiwaaten/	tall, long
/t̄iiKool;t̄iiKaaten/	heavy
/t̄iimoon;t̄iimanten/	fine, expensive
/xiiffoof;xiifaften/	light
/xiילוoy;xiilayten/	unmarried, bereaved
/xiizoor;xiizarten/	hare-lipped
/z̄iihoob;z̄iihabten/	ready

- 13.81 Commonly the /w/ infix occurs in both the masculine and feminine plural patterns. Thus /CeCwooc;CeCwaCten/:-

/behwoos̄;behwas̄ten/	of pleasant appearance but unpleasant character
/berwoos;berwas̄ten/	naked
/dekwoom;dekwas̄ten/	blunt
/gebwooh;gebwas̄ten/	blunt
/Hedwoob;Hedwas̄ten/	hunchbacked
/xerwoos;xerwas̄ten/	gap-toothed

- 13.82 The feminine markers /-eet/, /-iit/ and, rarely, /-et/, /-at/, of masculine plural forms become /-oot/, /-uuten/ (/ -awten/), in the feminine plural. Thus:-

/9ayleet;9ayloot/	small, mean
/bedyeet;bedyuuten/	liars, lying
/biireet;bayroot/	dishonest
/fesleet;fasloot/	lazy
/Heṣawret;Haṣroot/	present, ready

/en <u>d</u> eleet;en <u>d</u> eloot/	unpleasant
/ʒegat;ʒegawten/	brave (/ʒg9/)

13.83 Special mention should be made of the following forms,  
where the masculine and feminine forms are quite different:-

/soox;siix/	big (masculine only)
/noob;nyoob/	big (feminine only)

Relationships between the singular and plural masculine adjectival patterns

13.84      s. /CeCayC/ : pl. /CiiCooC/

The common singular masculine adjectival pattern /CeCayC/ most commonly has a plural of the pattern /CiiCooC/, as:-

/beSayr:biiSoor/	sensible
/fehaym:fiihoom/	clever
/senayn:siinoon/	a year older
	etc.

13.85      s. /CeCeeC/, /CeCiiC/ : pl. /CiiCooC/, /CeCwvvC/

Examples of such singular:plural forms are given below:-

pl. /CiiCooC/	/Geleez:Giilooz/	solid
	/remeem:rilmoom/	brittle, delicate
	/seweew:siwoow/	transparent
	/sedeer:siidoor/	stiff, obstinate

pl. /CeCwvvC/	/6aagiim:6aagwoom/	dumb
	/berees:berwoos/	naked
	/feTaa6:feTwaa6/	bare, unadorned
	/gediim:gedwoom/	lopped, leprous
	/KeriiH:Kerwooh/	shaven-headed
	/xerees:xerwoos/	gap-toothed

Compare also the quadrilateral form below:-

/SeHweew:SeHwoow/ light brown

- 13.86            These singular:plural forms are probably better considered as part of the general singular:plural formation discussed elsewhere (see 8.6 ), where final /ee/, /ii/ in the singular form becomes /oo/, /uu/ in the plural. This is also probably so of the singular:plural formation of the relative adjectives, where the /-ay/ of the singular forms becomes /-oo6/ or /-ooy/ in the plural, as:-

/Hebšay:Hebšoo6/    Ethiopian, Ethiopians  
 /6aamKay:6aamKooy/    medium, middling  
                               etc.

- 13.87            s. /CooCeC/:pl. /CeCCvvt/

The singular masculine adjectival pattern /CooCeC/ commonly has a plural of the pattern /Cv(v)CCvvt/, as:-

pl. /CeCCeet/            /6ooyel:6aayleet/    mean, small  
                               /booyer:biireet/    dishonest  
                               etc.

pl. /CeCCiit/            /6oogez:6aagziit/    lazy, incapable  
                               /šooge6:šegayt/    brave (/šg9/)  
                               etc.

Relationships between singular and plural feminine adjectives

13.88      s. /CeCayCet/ : pl. /CiiCaCten/

The most common feminine singular adjectival pattern /CeCayCet/ usually has a plural of the pattern /CiiCaCten/, the relevant masculine plural form commonly being of the pattern /CiiCooC/. Thus:-

/feKayret:fiiKarten/	(m. pl. /fiiKoor/)	poor
/Tehayret:Tiiharten/	(m. pl. /Tiihoor/)	pure
/xemaymet:xiimamten/	(m. pl. /xiimoom/)	cruel
		etc.

13.89      /CiiCaCten/ is also the plural pattern of singular forms of the pattern /CeCeCt/, as:-

/deHest:diiHasten/	tiresome, tiring
/negest:niigasten/	impure
/xefet:xiifaften/	light
	etc.

13.90      Compare the following with C<sup>3</sup> /6/ realised as /y/ in both singular and plural feminine forms:-

/berayyet:biirayten/	innocent (m. s. /beray6/)
/beTayyet:biiTayten/	late (m. s. /beTay6/)
/derayyet:diirayten/	strange(r) (m. s. /deray6/)
/Terayyet:Tiiirayten/	fresh, young (m. s. /Teray6/)

13.91 s. /CeCayt/:pl. /CeCawten/

/CeCawten/ is commonly the plural form of singular forms of the pattern /CeCayt/ occurring where C<sup>3</sup> is the voiced pharyngeal /9/. Thus:-

/Delayt:Delawten/	crippled
/feTayt:feTawten/	naked
/Keṣayt:Keṣawten/	dry
/Selayt:Selawten/	balding, bald

13.92 Compare also the following final C<sup>3</sup> /9/ forms whose singular form is not of the pattern /CeCayt/:-

/faaroot:ferawten/	brave
/Ṣagat:Ṣegawten/	brave

13.93 s. /CeCCvvt/:pl. /CeCwaCten/

Examples of such forms are given below. The infix */w/* of the plural form commonly occurs in the relevant masculine plural form also. Thus:-

/behṢayt:behwaṢten/	of pleasant appearance but unpleasant character (m. pl. /behwoos/)
/berṢayt:berwaṢten/	naked (m. pl. /berwoos/)
/Hedbeet:Hedwabten/	hunchbacked (m. pl. /Hedwoob/)
/xersiiit:xerwasten/	gap-toothed (m. pl. /xerwoos/)

13.94 s. /CvCCet/:pl. /CaCCoot/

The plural feminine marker of singular forms with the feminine marker /-et/ is commonly /-oot/, as:-

/bayret:bayroot/	dishonest
/faslet:fasloot/	lazy
/faTret:faTroot/	not fasting
/KamHat:KamHoot/	bad

13.95 s. form with feminine marker /-vvt/:pl. form with feminine external plural marker /-uuten/

The singular feminine markers /-eet/ and /-iit/ (/ -ayt/) of the singular form commonly become /-uuten/ (/ -awten/) in the plural, as:-

/6aagemeet:6aagemuuten/	dumb
/bedyiit:bedyuuten/	lying
/gedmiit:gedmuuten/	leprous, lopped
/hemgiit:hemguuten/	stupid
/seHHayt:seHHawten/	alive; healthy
/tefeliit:tefeluuten/	crippled

- 13.96 Relative adjectival form with feminine markers /-iit/, /-et/, /-oot/ in the singular:feminine marker /-ten/ in the plural

The feminine marker of the plural feminine relative adjective is regularly /-ten/, as:-

/6aamKyit:6aamKayten/	medium, middling
/6aarbayyet:6aarbayten/	Arab(s)
/feGešyoot:feGešayten/	having much milk (animals, humans)
/hendyoot:hendayten/	Indian(s)
/Hebsayyet:Hebsayten/	Ethiopian(s)
/Haawelyet:Haawelayten/	ancient

- 13.97 The common nominal plural pattern /CeCaCten/ occurs sporadically throughout in adjectival forms whose singular forms are of no single pattern. Some examples are given below:-

/6agzet:6aagazten/	lazy, incapable
/6aKlet:6ayKelten/	clever
/6aasreet:6aysarten/	beloved
/yedenoot:yedanten/	new



Commonly occurring adjectival patterns m.s.;f.s.:m.pl.;f.pl.

13.98 The most common adjectival pattern is:-

m.s. /CeCayC/;f.s. /CeCayCet/;m.pl. /CiiCooC/;f.pl. /CiiCaCten/

13.99 Over a third of the adjectives in the sample are of this pattern. Thus:-

/beray6;berayyet;biirooy;biirayten/	innocent
/bexayl;bexaylet;biixool;biixaaten/	mean, short handed (see 1.104 for preconsonantal /l/)
/dewayl;dewaylet;diwool;diwaaten/	old, worn out
/feTayn;feTaynet;fiiToon;fiiTanten/	clever, cunning
/gehayd;gehaydet;giihood;giihadten/	diligent
/Hešaym;Hešaymet;Hiisoom;Hiisamten/	respectable
/Tehayr;Tehayret;Tiihoor;Tiiharten/	pure
/xemaym;xemaymet;xiimoom;xiimamten/	cruel
	etc.

13.100 The other most common adjectival pattern is:-

m.s. /CeCvvC/;f.s. /CeCCvvt/;m.pl. /CeCwvvC/;f.pl. /CeCwaCten/

as:-

/bereeS;berSayt;berwooS;berwaSten/	naked
/Delee6;Delayt;Delwee6;Delawten/	crippled (/Dl9/)
/gebéeH;gebHayt;gebwooH;gebwaHten/	blunt

/Hedeeb;Hedbeet;Hedwoob;Hedwabten/	hunchbacked
/xerees;xersiit;xerwoos;xerwasten/	gap-toothed
	etc.

13.101 A less commonly occurring adjectival pattern is:-

m.s. /CooCeC/;f.s. /CaCCet/;m.pl. /CvCCvvt/ and /CvCCay/;  
f.pl. /CvCCoot/, as:-

/booyer;bayret:biireet;bayroot/	dishonest, swindling
/foosel;faslet:fesleet;fasloot/	lazy
/noodel;nadlet:endeleet;endeloot/	unpleasant (see for /ne-/ > /en-/)
/Soober;Sabret:Sebray;Sebroot/	patient
/Soofi;Saafyet:Saafyay;Safyoot/	pure, clear
	etc.

13.102 The pattern for adjectives of colour is as follows:-

m.s. /CeCuuC/ (/CeCawC/) and /CooCeC/;f.s. /CeCCvvt/;  
c.pl. /CeeCeC/ (/CaaCeC/), as:-

/6oofer;6aaf(e)riit:6aafer/	red (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /oofer;afiroot:aafer/)
/Hoower;Hewruut:Haawer/	black (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Hower;Haurroot:Haawer/)
/hezawr;hezriit:heezer/	green, yellow (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /Hazoort;Hazarriit: Heezer/)
/lebuun;ewbeniit:leebe/	white (cf. <u>Jahn</u> /leboon;lebniit:liiben/)

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